Daily Report

East Europe

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Alia Greets Austria's Waldheim on National Day

AU2510202489 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following telegram to Kurt Waldheim, Federal President of the Republic of Austria:

On the occasion of the anniversary of your National Day, it is my pleasure, in the name of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and personally, to convey sincere greetings to your Excellency and best wishes to the Austrian people for their happiness and prosperity.

I avail myself of this opportunity to express the conviction that the existing friendly relations between Albania and Austria will continue to develop.

Kosovo Writer Ibrahim Rugova Interviewed

AU2510104689 Tirana ATA in English 0912 GMT 25 Oct 89

["A State of Ghetto Is Imposed on the Albanians of Kosovo—Interview of the Kosovo Writer Ibrahim Rugova Granted to the Croatian Newspaper SLOBODNA DALMACIJA"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, October 25 (ATA)—The newspaper BASHKIMI carries today the interview of the Kosovo writer Ibrahim Rugova granted to the Croatian newspaper SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, which says among others:

The judicial procedure against Azem Vlasi is tragic, because it constitutes an overture to other processes, although our state has never been based on laws. The leading cadres are condemned aiming to "justify" everything else.

It is a laughing stock, Ibrahim Rugova said further, to make efforts for the implementation of a certain "Yugoslav Programme for Kosovo." It reminds me of some former opinions of Vasa Cubrilovic [Serbian academician, who before World War II advocated the expulsion of ethnic Albanians to Turkey], but now in a new modern variant, in the framework of the party, which makes one feel more sorry for. The policy towards the Albanians in Kosovo has been applied conscientiously, and practically a ghetto state has been imposed on us. In case we would strive to get together in any way, they will interpret it as a gathering of protest. The authorities do not allow even the simplest forms of gatherings, not more to speak of any kind of opposition. For them we cannot be opposition, practically we are considered enemies.

They allowed the creation of the Association for the Return of the Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo. But regarding the Albanians, they are accused of wanting to have ethnically pure associations.

I was dismissed from the LC [League of Communists] by the end of July, Ibrahim Rugova went on. Here this is possible without asking for the opinion of the grassroots organisation. In fact, I myself have wanted to abandon the LC, because I do not agree with the current policy. Nevertheless, here, it is very dangerous to abandon or to be dismissed from the LC, because such a thing has further consequences.

The local newspapers do not publish my articles any more, a secret censorship is exercised. I know I am pursued, they bug my telephone conversations and do everything. I find it difficult to move in Pristina. Some Albanians wonder at my still being here. Here it is a situation where one cannot make even an usual talk on life, the people hesitate. The psychosis of the police logic fully prevails now.

Canadian Deputy Science Minister Pays Visit

AU2210150689 Tirana ATA in English 0947 GMT 22 Oct 89

[Text] Tirana, October 22 (ATA)—Roberto Gualtieri, vice minister for sciences of Canada, paid a private visit to our country recently.

He was received by the chairman of the Committee of Science and Technique, Ajet Ylli, who conducted a friendly talk with him.

Upon his stay in our country, he visited historic and socio-cultural centres in the districts of Tirana, Durres and Shkoder.

The vice minister for sciences of Canada left our country on October 21.

Alia Greets Somalia's Barre on National Day

AU2110155789 Tirana ATA in English 1150 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Tirana, October 21 (ATA)—Comrade Ramiz Alia, President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, sent the following message of greetings to the President of the Democratic Republic of Somalia, Mohamed Siad Barre.

The commemoration of your National Day, the 20th anniversary of the Day of the Revolution, provides the pleasure on behalf of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and in my name, to convey to you, Mr President, the cordial greetings and the friendly Somali people the sincere wishes for their well-being and the further development and progress of the country.

Cooperation With U.S. Company Under Way

AU2610153489 Sofia BTA in English 1325 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Sofia, October 26 (BTA)—We are glad that the first step in our cooperation with the Bulgarian partners has been successful, said before a BTA reporter Mr Gunther Graf, president of the Vienna branch of the U.S. Techtronics Company. This is proved by the production of a high-tech product which has started here. We hope it will set the beginning of a broader cooperation in the electronic measuring technology which will be to the benefit of the two sides. Mr Graf says he thinks that they will contribute to the practical realization of the theoretical aspects of the cooperation between the United States and Bulgaria worked out at the third session of the Bulgaria-U.S. Trade-Economic Council which ended yesterday.

A production line for assembly and tuning of electronic oscilloscopes was put into operation today at the Scientific-Production Enterprise "Scientific Instrument Building" with the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. Its creation is the result of the agreement for long-term contacts between the enterprise and the U.S. company, as well as of the active cooperation with the Bulgarian Industrial Economic Association "Systembiochim" and the Sofia Economic Bank.

The production of electron oscilloscopes which has started in Bulgaria is the first joint production of Techtronics with a partner of the socialist countries.

Mladenov on 'Demilitarizing Political Thinking'

AU1110093189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 Oct 89 p 5

[Speech by Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs: "Positive Dialogue Asserts Itself as Real Factor in Politics," delivered at the 44th Session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York on 3 October]

[Text] Mr Chairman, I have the honor to congratulate you as the representative of friendly Nigeria on the occasion of your election to the post of chairman of the 44th United Nations General Assembly session, and to wish you success in your highly responsible mission. I would also like to express gratitude to Mr Dante Caputo, chairman of the previous session, for his contribution to the fruitful activities of the 43d UN General Assembly session.

Mr Chairman, the world is entering a new stage in its development. The awareness of common human interests objectively contributes to a rapprochement in foreign policy criteria and approaches. I would like to cite Mr Xavier Perez de Cuellar, our highly esteemed UN secretary general, who stated in this context:

"We are on the threshold of a new decade. This fact as such has no special significance, of course. Nevertheless, only a few decades in world history have coincided with truly crucial moments. Such a crucial moment of history is facing us today. A great aspiration to open a new page and to test innovative methods for the solution of old problems prevails all over the world today.... The struggle to eliminate the causes of conflicts, to do away with economic inequality, to struggle against social deformations and ecological deterioration—these things require all our manly courage and firm resolve to be successful in this struggle today."

In this changing world UN sessions are increasingly becoming events of crucial importance in international life. In the wide spectrum of ideas expressed from this rostrum we can truly detect the political pulse of the planet, the positive trends on the world scene. The statements made by U.S. President Bush and USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs Shevardnadze clearly confirmed that peaceful coexistence is prevailing in interstate relations, that confrontation has become "outdated" and that the positive dialogue has turned into a real factor of politics. We highly appreciate the new initiatives and proposals of the two great states and the recently reached agreement to hold a new Soviet-American summit meeting.

The objective laws of social development resulted in a new understanding of dialectics between national and international aspects in interstate relations. Among the factors that determine the changes that hitherto accomplished changes and those awaiting us in the future, I would like to point out the awareness that violence and hostility belong to the past and the understanding that the cliches of confrontation and antagonism should be overcome. The restructuring process which is under way in the USSR and in the other socialist countries was the source of new political thinking which is in accordance with the new historical essence of the world.

As a matter of fact, new and unusual solutions for global problems are being sought after in all parts of our planet and at all levels.

Bulgaria is not a large country; it does not belong to those countries that set the tone of world development. Nevertheless, fundamental changes in accordance with the new spirit of communications among states and peoples are taking place in our country. We are talking about changes, aimed at enhancing the role of the individual and of society, aimed at a drastic change of the conditions for economic activities, aimed at a comprehensive consolidation of the legal foundations of the state, and at a democratization process in all spheres of social life.

We are aware that our country's stability and the people's well-being depend upon such reforms, that they determine the opportunities of Bulgaria's full cooperation with the rest of the world and its place within the community of countries and peoples.

The Bulgarian Parliament adopted a number of essential changes in our legislation which guarantee every Bulgarian citizen's rights freely to travel abroad, to stay in foreign countries, and to return to his own country. A

decision was adopted which obliges the relevant administrative, economic, and other organs, as in the past, also in the future, to guarantee the necessary measures for the unconditional observance of the Constitution and for safeguarding the freedom of conscience and of religiou for all citizens, of their customs, and religious practices, to guarantee the nationwide role played by the Bulgarian language as an official language of the state, and simultaneously, to safeguard tolerance and respect for the free use of different dialects and languages in everyday life relations among people. A step in the same direction was also accomplished by the measures adopted along the lines of health protection, which facilate the observance of the religious rites of Islam and of Judaism.

All this is in full accordance with the international norms of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of the Vienna agreements.

Mr Chairman, the restructuring of international relations in accordance with the principles of common sense and universal human interests is primarily determined by the ability of the world public to eliminate the threat against its own existence.

The crucial problem is to demilitarize political thinking. We are convinced that it is high time to reject the model of military-strategic "containment" and to adopt a new model based on a comprehensive approach to the problems of peace and security. I would like to stress that the prestige and the mechanisms of the United Nations could play a role of invaluable importance for the establishment of such a model.

We are convinced of the requirement fully to eliminate nuclear weapons, as Mikhail Gorbachev proposed as early as in January 1986. We are also convinced that it is necessary to restrict conventional weapons to the limits of sensible sufficiency. In order to achieve these goals the efforts of all states are required. Guided by this conviction, Bulgaria, along with its allies, has adopted a unilateral reduction of its armed forces and military expenditures. We consider this act as a constructive contribution.

The announcement on the progress achieved in coordinating the treaty on the 50-percent reduction of strategic, offensive weapons is another gratifying fact. It is becoming increasingly evident that the achievement of progress in disarmament requires restraint. We are becoming aware of the fact that the plans on the modernization, development, and proliferation of new systems and types of nuclear and space arms should once more be carefully reconsidered.

I would like to stress once more that the halt in the arms race—especially related to nuclear arms—should be the concern and responsibility of all mnakind. For this reason we should not consider bilateral negotiations as an alternative to multilateral efforts in this area.

The UN Charter encourages regional measures for the consolidation of peace and security. A discussion on the question of establishing nuclear-free zones in the world has been underway for a long time. Bulgaria is actively working in this field. Along with some other neighbor states, our country submitted specific initiatives for the implementation of this idea in the Balkan peninsula.

The world is increasingly approaching the solution of one of the principal tasks related to the reduction of military threat. The Paris Conference held in January 1989 showed that broad international consent exists on the banning and destruction of chemical weapons. Let us hope that the readiness manifested by both the USSR and the United States to adopt a substantial reduction of chemical weapons will accelerate the mulitlateral Geneva negotions on this issue.

The reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments, the limitation and elimination of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe would substantially contribute to the the achievement of security at a lower level of military confrontation. At the Vienna negotiations, unlike in the recent past, both East and West carefully listened to each other's arguments, and this cannot fail to inspire us with hope for a rapid progress of these negotiations.

Despite the fact, that it is too early to forecast any specific results we are justified in saying that real progress has been achieved in achieving results. In Europe, where the confrontation of military blocks left the most lasting traces, a qualitatively new awareness is developing. We are already describing the common European home as a feasible goal. The Vienna meeting, the London information forum, and the Paris meeting on the human dimension were important landmarks along this path. Bulgaria will continue to contribute its share to the further development and consolidation of the all-European process.

Mr Chairman, positive changes can be observed in all regional developments. The efforts to solve conflict situations involved all hotbeds of tension like a chain reaction. The preference for peaceful solutions is determined to a great extent by the search for a balance of interests on the basis of realism and compromise. The Belgrade conference of nonaligned countries showed that more effective new solutions are being sought for worldwide stabilization, for establishing peace, and progress. The conviction is strengthening that it is absolutely possible to find nonconfrontational solutions for the most difficult problems.

We are on the eve of Namibia's declaration of independence. This is a great success of the decolonization process in recent years.

The process of the peaceful settlement of conflicts, however, has not yet become irreversible. The missile attacks against peaceful towns and villages in Afghanistan have not ceased. The Palestinian people are still denied the right of their own state, and the occupation of Arab territories continues. The fratricidal bloodshed in Lebanon also persist. The ghost of genocide still overshadows Cambodia, and apartheid still prevails in

southern Africa. The regional peace process in Central America does not remain untouched by interference from abroad. The people of Cyprus have been suffering under the burden of Turkish military occupation for as long as 15 years. The Korean people's aspirations for the country's democratic reunification, for demilitarization, and liberation of this area from nuclear weapons are still unfulfilled.

This list of alarming situations could, unfortunately, be pursued. Nevertheless, we consider it more important to point out that the world public no longer regards such conflicts within the narrow-minded context of confrontation between East and West, but as a series of universal, human calamities for which a remedy should be found with joint efforts. This is a guarantee for their peaceful and just settlement.

Mr Chairman, as a country situated in the center of the Balkan peninsula, Bulgaria pursues an active policy of good-neighborly relations, mutual understanding, detente, and development of cooperation with all Balkan states in the spirit of new political thinking, and within the framework of the all-European process. We note with satisfaction the progress achieved in all-Balkan cooperation and its positive influence on the situation in the area. Results have already been achieved in the political and economic spheres, environmental protection measures have been adopted, and the first regional meeting on confidence building and security measures has already been held.

Along with this, there are unsolved problems in the Balkans, as in all other parts of the world. We are against taking advantage of such problems to the detriment of bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the area. Our country has repeatedly stressed that no problems exist that could not be solved at the negotiating table, through a dialogue based on equal rights and mutual advantage, without any preliminary conditions, unburdened by attempts at threats, propaganda pressure, and interference in each other's internal affairs.

It is from this point of view that Bulgaria considers the problems of Bulgarian-Turkish relations which, unfortunately, are marked by tension. I take advantage of this opportunity to stress once more that the Bulgarian side has always been ready for direct, bilateral negotiations at any level at all in order to discuss the existing problems, such as strengthening confidence and security, activating bilateral economic relations, solving humanitarian problems, including reuniting divided families, and the adoption of relevant organizational measures related to the passage of citizens across the Bulgarian-Turkish borders. Along with this, we shall continue to take into consideration the measures which Turkey, as a sovereign state, is adopting in connection with the passage of citizens across the Bulgarian-Turkish border.

Our country thinks that the Bulgarian-Turkish protocol signed in Belgrade in 1988 represents a solid basis for discussing and settling all problems between the two countries.

Experience shows that third countries can also successfully contribute to this dialogue as long as they are motivated by benevolent intentions.

We are in favor of humane and civilized relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of Turkey which should accord with the present-day trends in the development of international relations. In this connection I would like to recall a remark made by Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, in his statement of 29 May 1989:

"The present and future of both the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of Turkey should be determined by good-neighborly relations between the two countries and in the Balkans as a whole, by understanding and cooperation with all countries in the world. The People's Republic of Bulgaria has always acted in accordance with this principle and will continue to do so."

Mr Chairman, the global processes which are underway in the world today are confronting the states with problems demanding joint solutions. The survival and progress of mankind largely depend on such solutions. The world economy and international economic relations are the natural basis of such solutions. This is an objective truth.

The economy is a prerequisite for the functioning of every society, or social system, for their prosperity and security. This is, precisely, the reason why the questions of international economic development are playing an increasingly important role in the activities of the United Nations.

The experience of the eighties confirmed the requirement to combine the efforts of the world community in the quest for effective means of overcoming the critical situation in the area of economic growth and the foreign debts of developing countries. Permanent problems in this area, like a chronic disease, not only contribute to the destabilization of international cooperation, but also jeopardize peace and security throughout the world.

The United Nations organization is in possession of sufficient intellectual potential and provides well-tried mechanisms for stimulating international economic cooperation. It is capable of substantially contributing to the democratization of world economic relations, for their optimal improvement on the basis of mutual advantage. The opportunity of releasing enormous financial resources through disarmament will play a role of exceptional importance in this connection.

Bulgaria is in favor of developing bilateral and multilateral economic cooperation. One of the goals of the reforms we are implementing is to get involved in international economic structures. Our steps aimed at the establishment of official and stable relations, based on equal rights, with the EC and at our GATT membership are a specific manifestation of this policy.

Environmental protection is a priority sphere for combining the efforts and resources of mankind. Political leaders, scientists, and people all over the world are warning about and discussing the deterioration of our environment with equal concern.

Bulgaria's ecological policy is implemented in unison with the strategy of our country's socioeconomic development. This is expressed in our national program on the protection and reproduction of our environment.

At our initiative and in close cooperation with other Balkan states a draft treaty on the ecological protection of the Balkans is under preparation. A session of the executive organ of the Convention on Long-Range Transboundary Air Pollution was held in Sofia under the auspices of the Economic Commission for Europe, while an international meeting on environmental protection is scheduled to take place in Bulgaria in October at the decision of the Vienna meeting of countries participating in the all-European process. We hope that this forum will encourage multilateral cooperation in the ecological sphere.

The free transfer of ecologically harmless technologies, the renunciation at discriminatory restrictions related to the implementation of environmental protection measures, financial relief for developing countries in the field of trade with modern technologies, expansion of technological assistance by the developed states, including industrial production sharing and information—these are the basic principles of our stand on international issues.

Pathological excesses in the social sphere which threaten the foundations of society and of man's physical existence should be added to the general humanitarian problems and this would be quite justified. They include terrorism, drug addiction, and organized crime.

Terrorism is particularly dangerous for social and international stability under the conditions of the world's growing interdependence. In our view this phenomenon is a result of—and a relapse into— those social conditions and ways of thinking which throughout the centuries were prompted by militarism, hostility, and by violent methods applied in dealing with troublesome people. Present-day terrorism is criminal and profoundly reactionary in all its varieties. Our country's approach to terrorism is unmistakable and firm. No idea whatsoever justifies the killing of innocent people, the seizing of hostages, and acts of physical and moral violence applied against human beings.

Mr Chairman, a successful implementation of the new approaches in solving the problems of our contemporary world would be impossible unless justice prevails in international relations. Global security, above all things, should be built on the basis of a stable and just legal order. The priority of justice is the only real guarantee for the prevalence of universal human values over petty and biased ideological and nationalistic interests.

The law of force should be replaced by the force of law in a civilized legal procedure and in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence.

The present General Assembly session is held in a period of exceptional circumstances involving great responsibility. The peoples' expectations for the establishment of peaceful relations, based on equal rights, for a future world based on security and development, and on the harmonious coexistence of man with nature have increased more than ever.

Permit me, to express our country's hope that today, when the role of the United Nations in world affairs has remarkably increased, this session will make a substantial contribution to the further intensification of the dialogue among states for the sake of a new world order, based on common sense, security, and cooperation.

Thank your for your attention.

GDR Refugees at Prague FRG Embassy Expelled

LD2610205689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1738 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Prague (ADN)—Today in Prague, people who were staying in the FRG Embassy there were discharged from GDR citizenship. In the GDR Embassy they received at the same time documents for exit to a third country. In accordance with a provisional regulation agreed upon with the Government of the CSSR, the persons concerned have to leave Czechoslovakia within 24 hours.

Adamec Visits Austria, Talks With Vranitzky

Pre-visit Comments

LD2410093989 Prague CTK in English 1816 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] Prague Oct 23 (CTK)—Czechoslovak-Austrian relations and the situation in Czechoslovakia were the main subjects with which Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Ademac dealt in an interview granted recently to Austrian journalists.

Referring to Czechoslovak-Austrian relations, the premier said they were currently on a good level, with both sides showing interest in maintaining this trend. He stated that economic cooperation was a stabilizing factor in bilateral relations. Austria is Czechoslovakia's second largest trading partner among the capitalist countries. Czechoslovakia sees possibilities of expanding relations in greater industrial cooperation, in setting up joint ventures and cooperation on third markets, he said and added that creation and protection of the environment is a significant area of cooperation.

Austria and Czechoslovakia are two central European countries which must more intensively seek ways of cooperation between each other, from goods exchange to industrial cooperation, from relations on state level to relations between enterprises and the people.

Dealing with the political situation in Czechoslovakia, Ladislav Adamec said that "the complexity of the tasks Czechoslovakia faces at present follows, inter alia, from the fact that it started carrying out the economic reform later than necessary. The reforms are hindered by the imbalance in the economy and the government has to counter inertia in the whole management sphere. The thinking of people is burdened by the past forty years of the directive management of the economy".

The premier went on to point out that one of the basic features of the government's work is a democratic approach to management. "We do not want to govern only with the help of resolutions but with political and economic instruments. The government bases its work on the interests and opinions of society, on the policy of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. Nevertheless, we are a government of the entire national front. We meet at joint sessions with trade unionists, youth, representatives of farmers", he said.

Referring to human rights, the premier said he disagreed with socialism being incompatible with the application of human rights as some critics claim, stressing that the government identified itself with the final document of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting. Czechoslovakia will gradually amend its legal system in connection with the drafting of a new constitution and is drafting a bill on the freedom of association and the freedom of assembly.

Speaking of the relations between the Catholich Church and the state, Ladislav Adamec recalled that applying for lessons in religion at schools has been made easier, imports of religious literature have improved, church dignitaries are members of a commission which is drafting a new constitution and a new bill on the freedom of religion and on religious organizations is being drafted.

Explaining the government's stand on a dialogue with citizens, Ladislav Adamec said that "pluralism in views is nothing strange to us". Within the framework of the National Front there is the possibility to express oneself on all questions of Czechoslovak society without exception on one single condition that this is done from the positions of the constitution and socialism". There are several informal organizations in this country, numbering fewer than a thousand people, he said, adding that the state does not plan to legalize them. "We are convinced that they have a chance to assert themselves within National Front Activities. We are not afraid of and we do not avoid criticism so long as it is aimed at rectifying things, at supporting the socialist order. We shall not accept a dialogue if criticism follows the liquidation of the socialist system", Adamec stressed.

Asked about his relationship to Austria, the Czechoslovak premier said he regarded Austria as a friendly neighbouring state and would be glad if Austrian citizens as well as some Austrian media have the same attitude toward Czechoslovakia.

Of his opinion on developments in the USSR, Ladislav Adamec said Czechoslovakia carefully follows the course of restructuring in the USSR since if this process is successful there it will be a success for Czechoslovakia. The two countries are very strongly integrated economically, with 40 per cent of Czechoslovakia's foreign trade being conducted with the Soviet Union.

As regards the latest events in the German Democratic Republic, Ladislav Adamec said he personally was of the opinion that an exchange of functions after a certain time while maintaining fundamental continuity was indispensible.

Answering a question concerning an alleged ban on the trip by former Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Hajek

to Austria. Adamec said Jiri Hajek was given the travel documents on Friday and was free to leave for Austria on an invitation.

In connection with the illegal activities of some representatives of informal associations outside the National Front, the premier said that organizing of anti-state actions is a violation of the laws of ths country and conclusions must be drawn from this.

Departs With Johanes

LD2410085789 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0800 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec left by air this morning for a 2-day official visit to the Republic of Austria. Accompanying the premier are Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes and Foreign Trade Minister Jan Sterba.

Ladislav Adamec was seen off at Prague's Ruzyne Airport by Bohumil Urban, federal first deputy premier, and other officials.

Arrives in Vienna 24 Oct

LD2410111989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec arrived today in Vienna on a 2-day official visit. He was met at Schwechat Airport by Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky.

Talks opened between Ladislav Adamec and Franz Vranitzky shortly after 1000 at the Federal Chancellery.

Views Political Reform

LD2410161189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] Austria—Czechoslovak Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec, who is in Austria on a 2-day official visit, had talks today with Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky. In a tete-a-tete meeting, the two officials briefed one another on the situation in their countries. They paid particular attention to bilateral cooperation, which they both described as good, and went on to call for its further expansion and intensification.

The Czechoslovak delegation then visited the Austrian parliament buildings, where Ladislav Adamec explained internal political development in Czechoslovakia to the Austrian MPs in detail. Reforms in Czechoslovakia cannot be restricted solely to the economic sphere, he said, they also had to be extended to the political sphere. He also added that the Czehcoslovak side did not intend to launch into hasty changes that were not properly thought through.

After lunch, official Czechoslovak-Austrian talks got under way at the Federal Chancellor's offices.

Meets With Vranitzky

LD2410223189 Prague CTK in English 1734 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Vienna Oct 24 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslvoak Premier Ladislav Adamec arrived here Tuesday for a two-day official visit to Austria.

He is accompanied by Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes and Foreign Trade Minister Jan Sterba.

Shortly after his arrival, the Czechoslovak premier opened talks with Chancellor Franz Vranitzky. They informed each other of the situation in their countries, discussed bilateral relations and called for their deepening and intensification. [passage omitted]

Official Czechoslovak-Austrian talks opened later today. The two sides focused on further promotion of bilateral relations and the European politics.

Czechoslovakia is interested in modernizing telecommunications and railways network in cooperation with Austrian firms, Ladislav Adamec said, as well as in building a motorway between Schwechat and Bratislava and a water power plant Wolfstahl on the Danube, etc.

He pointed to Czechoslovakia's effort at simplifying the possibilities of travelling, emphasizing his country's interest in establishing joint ventures in the sphere of tourism. He also proposed to introduce local border traffic.

Chancellor Franz Vranitzky spoke about the integration policy underlining that Austria's potential admission to the European communities would not threaten the country's neutrality.

He pointed to a number of existing potentialities of deepening and enriching bilateral contacts.

The two statesmen devoted great attention to ecological questions and called for intensification of contacts in this field. The Austrian chancellor backed the Czechoslovak premier's proposal for holding a meeting of the premiers of the states neighbouring on Czechoslovakia aimed at cooperation in ecology.

The two sides focused also on the use of nuclear power. In this connection Franz Vranitzky pointed to the Austrians' sensibility to the questions of nuclear power engineering. Ladislav Adamec said that Czechoslovakia has no other alternative with regard to the shortage of primary energy resources on its territory and stressed that the electric energy production in nuclear power plants is a contribution to the environmental protection.

Comments on Talks

LD2410224689 Prague Television Service in Slovak 2100 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] Czechoslovak-Austrian talks at premier level opened in Vienna today. The talks between Ladislav

Adamec and Franz Vranitzky were marked by the matter-of-fact approach which was typical for all other meetings of the CSSR premier.

The meeting and talks on economic issues which Ladislav Adamec and his entourage held in the Federal Industrial Chamber in the presence of representatives of approximately 40 Austrian firms, were of great importance.

At this meeting Ladislav Adamec said among other things:

[Begin Adamec recording in Czech] We will be following the route to speedy dynamism in promising production and the suppression of noneffective production. This will naturally also have an effect on certain changes in the structure of mutual trade. We are not happy about its current level either its quantity and more particularly, its quality. For example we think that the proportion of exported machinery and equipment, which is about 4.4 percent is disproportionally low and it is not in harmony with the potential and needs of both our economies. We concentrate our effort on improving the ability of our products to stand up to competition by improving its quality and by adapting the range to the changing conditions on the market. A future solution is not only the exchange of goods but above all a substantial enhancement of direct production cooperation between CSSR and Austrian enterprises, the development of production cooperation, joint entrepreneuring and cooperation in third markets. [end recording]

The Austrian firms have proved themselves to be reliable partners in the advancement of the CSSR economy. They have top quality technology and equipment. This has been shown by their supplies to our chemical industry and machine-building industry. The interest of the CSSR and also of many Austrian firms in cooperation with our enterprises is the basic condition but also the prerequisite for a greater and structurally more variable development of CSSR-Austrian mutually advantageous economic cooperation now after the Federal Premier's talks in Vienna. Practically all the meetings and talks which Ladislav Adamec took part in on the first day of his visit to Austria confirm such prospects.

Dinner Speeches

LD2410225589 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2200 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] Austria—Chancellor Franz Vranitzky gave a gala dinner tonight in honor of CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec, who is in Austria on an official friendly visit.

In his speech Franz Vranitzky welcomed the progress which the two countries attained in mutual relations over the last few years. He spoke in particular about the long-prepared agreement about the issue of mutual interest in the area of nuclear security and the protection from radiation.

He also praised the agreement about the foundation of cultural institutes which was signed in Vienna last year and also the current bilateral talks on making travel easier.

Chancellor Vranitzky went on to speak about Austrian foreign policy and he said that it is always based on the stand that the care for relations vis-a-vis the immediate neighborhood is of particular importance in a time of tension in international political dialogue.

In his speech at the dinner Ladislav Adamec emphasized that the CSSR sees as the most important thing in the current talks the key agreement on the need to follow the path of removing obstacles which follow from the failure to understand the stances of individual partners, from the lack of understanding and from the heritage of the past. He said that the warming up of the political climate in the world is positively reflected in the development of Czechoslovak-Austrian relations.

Ladislav Adamec went on to say that the CSSR respects the right of every country to choose its system, government and habit freely. It is against any form of foreign interference into the internal affairs of others but it asks the same thing from other countries too.

He also spoke about the readiness of the CSSR to create conditions for making travel easier and said that the policy of opening up to the world outside is in harmony with what is needed for the development of socialism. He also spoke about the CSSR's efforts to improve the quality of the environment and said that ecological issues occupy a prominent place in the preparation of our further economic plans.

Ladislav Adamec at the same time repeated the CSSR's stance that neighboring countries should meet regularly to exchange views and to seek joint ways to attaining a central Europe that would be ecologically safer.

'Open' Talks Reported

LD2510134389 Prague in Czech to Europe 2230 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Report by Correspondent Petr Nemec From Vienna]

[Excerpt] The talks that have been going on in Vienna can be described as matter-of-fact and open. Their aim is to bring relations to an even higher level. Both sides have expressed the wish for economic cooperation to be developed through the most up- to-date means. This means cooperation between enterprises and the creation of joint enterprises.

Czechoslovakia and Austria understand the term cultural relations in their widest context including the advancement of tourism, exchange of scientific-technical information and so on. The information about the situation in the two countries is very valuable.

Ladislav Adamec informed this host about the intentions of the Czechoslovak government in implementing

the conclusions of the Vienna follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Chancellor Vranitzky, and tonight Austrian industrialists, have welcomed a direct meeting with the Czechoslovak premier who is accompanied by Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes, Foreign Trade Minister Jan Sterba, and also by prominent representatives of Czechoslovak economic life, because this meeting helped to remove some unclear points with regard to the possibilities regarding foreign ventures in Czechoslovakia. There are different views here, too; for example, about nuclear power production, above all, the construction of a nuclear power station in Temelin. The Austrian sides seek the intensification of the work of a group of experts from both countries on the implementation of security measures.

Tomorrow, the foreign ministers will sign an agreement on the security of operation of nuclear reactors and of work with nuclear materials. [passage omitted]

Supports 'Broad Democracy'

LD2510204189 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Ladislav Adamec continued his visit to Austria today, his 2d and final day. [passage omitted]

Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec and Chancellor Franz Vranitzky gave a joint news conference during a visit to a modern shopping center, Donauzentrum. [passage omitted]

[Begin Adamec recording in Czech; German translation can be heard in background] Naturally, regarding the sphere of democracy, though I explained what measures we take in order to give democracy in Czechoslovakia really the widest space, some deputies still consider it too little. I do not argue whether it is little or enough. I have to take into account today's realities. Every country judges the situation for itself. I support broad democracy, but I am a supporter of order, discipline, and on no account am I for destabilization. For this, I can be rightly criticized by some of you journalists. I categorically reject views that we are putting people in prison for differences of opinion. We accept differences of opinion; it is a part of a dialogue. However, it must not be the breaking of laws. No government, if it does not ensure security and safety for the people, can be a good government. And we say about ourselves that we are the government of the national front; we respect the demands of the people. [end recording]

Attends Luncheon With Waldheim

LD2510204889 Prague CTK in English 1925 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Vienna Oct 25 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec characterized his visit to Austria as very useful for further development of Czechoslovak-Austrian relations during his meeting with Austrian President Kurt Waldheim here today.

Kurt Waldheim described the two countries' relations as good but pointed out that there is a number of possibilities which could be used for their extension.

At a luncheon in honour of the Czechoslovak guest, the Austrian president emphasized that there is good-will on both sides to revive their neighbourly relations and use them for bilateral benefit. This involves not only regular exchanges of visits at a political level but also closed economic relations, further facilitating of travelling for the two countries' citizens and even more intensified cultural exchange in which Austria is especially interested.

A dense network of agreements exists in all these spheres, for instance the recently signed agreement between the Foreign Ministries on establishment of cultural institutes. Now it is up to us to use offered possibilities, Kurt Waldheim stressed.

The fact that Austria asked for membership of the EEC does not cast any doubts on pledges of Austria as a permanently neutral state, and the implementation of its duties will not suffer. The neutrality of Austria is an inseparable part of its position in Europe and in the world. Also in the future, Austria will help extend successful co-existence of states in Europe in the spirit of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), Kurt Waldheim emphasized.

He stressed the necessity of coping with new demands and developing new forms of cooperation, which is also a target of the Czechoslovak initiative concerning regional cooperation in environmental protection.

Kurt Waldheim expressed hope that such affairs as humanitarian questions and questions of human rights on which the two countries hold different stands will be satisfactorily solved.

Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec pointed out that Czechoslovakia appreciates good political will of Austrian representatives to broadly develop mutually advantageous cooperation in all spheres. It especially appreciates Austria's contribution to international security and its neutral and peace policy.

Czechoslovakia and Austria agreed on joint ways of helping to make the continent an example of peaceful cooperation and mutually advantageous exchange of values in science, technology, industry, agriculture, transport and culture. In Czechoslovakia's opinion, nothing prevents the two countries from presenting joint initiatives concerning these questions.

Czechoslovakia sees in the extension of economic cooperation not only the way towards speeding up the economic development but also a firm basis of a positive trend of the two countries' relations.

Czechoslovakia favours the two sides' getting to know each other better and is for broad contacts of citizens for which it creates conditions. It is ready to positively evaluate proposals to extend cooperation in the military and other spheres, Ladislav Adamec stressed.

He pointed out that Czechoslovakia supports the idea of ecologically safer Central Europe based on operative exchange of information and assistance in solving accidents. The seriousness of these affairs requires that the present efforts should culminate with an agreement at the level of premiers.

The finding of a common language in ecological questions would also help create a mechanism of joint actions in other spheres. Czechoslovakia is for regular meetings between representatives of neighbouring states aimed at exchanging views and seeking joint stands.

Assesses Visit

LD2610103789 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1830 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Excerpts] The visit of Comrade Ladislav Adamec to Austria continued today in its second, final day. Ivan Farsky reports: [passage omitted]

[Farsky] Ladislav Adamec, premier of the federal government, and Franz Vranitzky, chancellor, gave a joint news conference during a visit to a modern shopping center, Donauzentrum. Franz Vranitzky expressed satisfaction regarding both the course and results of Austrian-Czechoslovak talks. He expressed himself in favor of all-round widening of mutual relations at the highest possible level, for overcoming all past disruptive moments between the two countries. He stressed that the joint 600-kilometer-long border of Austria and Czechoslovakia, as well as present developments in Europe, are favorable for the development of bilateral relations also in [word indistinct] new spheres and with a new emphasis. Also in the field of human rights and humanitarian questions, said Franz Vranitzky, we jointly clarified and solved all those questions which the Austrian side is interested in.

Ladislav Adamec then also assessed the course and results of his visit to Austria. He appreciated the openess of talks and mutual understanding for achieving an agreement on principal questions of further cooperation. Basically, we succeeded in achieving our aims—though one visit will not solve all questions, stressed the Czechoslovak premier.

Answering a question by Czechoslovak television, on what specific results this visit has brought for further improvement of mutual relations, Ladislav Adamec said:

[Begin Adamec recording in Czech] I am convinced that in the field of economy, a better concrete cooperation will be achieved. Regarding the easing of travel, our citizens and also Austrian citizens will highly appreciate what we had already agreed upon and what will be concluded in the next few days.

We are interested in getting rid of a number of administrative measures. We want people in greater numbers to be able to travel also to Austria. However, I say openly that the Czechoslovak economy has insufficient sources of hard currency to enable everybody who wants to go to Austria to do so. If our citizen has this kind of money, no one will prevent him travelling, let us say tomorrow, to acquaint himself with the beautiful Austrian country. And, as I say, we will withdraw several technical measures. Also, in the fields of culture, tourism, physical education and sport, and science, cooperation will improve.

We agreed that regarding small border contacts [short visits to an area close to the border], we will allow free entry [as heard]; on the Danube bank, in Bratislava, we will arrange for trains to link Vienna and Breclav. We also reached an agreement that we would complete the five kilometers of tram line to Bratislava. Nothing prevents the existence of bike paths alongside the Danube.

There are several things we agreed upon and our minister, Comrade Johanes, will discuss the rest in the next few days. Therefore, we have reached a number of specific positive conclusions which our citizens will welcome. [end recording] [passage omitted on democracy in Czechoslovakia]

Returns From Vienna

LD2510190589 Prague CTK in English 1636 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Prague Oct 25 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec returned here today from a two-day official visit to Austria which took place at the invitation of Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky.

He was accompanied by Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes and Foreign Trade Minister Jan Sterba.

Further Reportage on Visit

For Austrian reportage on the visit of Prime Minister Adamec to Austria, including his talks with Austrian Chancellor Vranitzky, see the Austria section of the 25 October West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Adamec Gives Interview to Austrian Press

AU2710095989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Oct 89 p 6

[CTK report on interview given by CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec to correspondents of 3 Austrian dailies in Prague "prior to his departure for Austria"]

[Text] Prague—As we have already reported, CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec received in Prague Austrian journalists representing the dailies KURIER, DER STANDARD, and SALZBURGER NACHRICHTEN and gave them an interview prior to his departure for Austria.

In the opening portion of the interview, he assessed the level of the Czechoslovak-Austrian relations and expressed appreciation for the fact that the visit is taking place in a period when they are of a good standard and are favorably developing. There exists bilateral interest

in maintaining this positive trend. Political dialogue is developing and members of the governments are in regular contact. The mutual contractual base is expanding -there already exist 60 bilateral agreements and the conclusion of further ones is in the stage of preparations.

L. Adamec depicted economic cooperation as being a key, stabilizing factor. Austria is the CSSR's second largest trade partner among the capitalist countries. We see possibilities for further expanding relations in purposefully increasing production cooperations, establishing joint ventures, in cooperation in third markets, and such like. We are interested in joint investments, in the modernization of the production base of the engineering and food industries, in biotechnologies, and other sectors. An important branch of cooperation also is the creation and protection of the environment. There exist broad possibilities for cooperation with advanced Austrian firms, which have a wealth of experience. We want our enterprises to invite Austrian partners, to begin working on joint projects—of course, projects which would hold their own also in international competition.

"We have a common history, common borders, extensive economic links and commercial relations, many personal and family ties, a common cultural past and, in many respects, also a common cultural future. We are Central European states which must seek more extensively ways of cooperation, from the exchange of goods to industrial cooperation, from relations on the state level to relations between enterprises and people. We are interested in expanding roads, expressways, railroad lines, telephone communications, and improving relations between neighboring border districts and regions," the CSSR Premier declared.

Ladislav Adamec then addressed some views on the domestic political developments in the CSSR. He said that regarding the pace and the extent of reforms, the new Federal Government, which was appointed in October last year, has proclaimed the acceleration of the economic reform by one year. [as published]

"We will keep our promise. In the middle of November we will submit to the deputies of the CSSR Federal Assembly a report on the realization of our government proclamation. The complexity of the current tasks arises, among other things, from the fact that we started carrying out the economic reform later than necessary. The reforms are complicated by the imbalance in the national economy and the government grapples with inertia in the whole the management sphere -beginning with enterprises and ending with ministries. The thinking of the people is burdened by the past 40 years of directive management of the economy," the Federal Premier said.

He said further that a democratic approach to management is one of the fundamental features of the government's work. "We do not want to manage only with the help of resolutions, but with political and economic instruments. The government bases its work on the interests and views of society, on the policy of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party]. Nevertheless, we are the government of the entire National Front. We meet at joint sessions with trade unionists, youth, representatives of farmers. We monitor public opinion polls, we proceed from scientists' findings, for example, from the findings of the Institute for Prognoses of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. The letters from citizens, the number of which has markedly increased this year, are a valuable source. They are the evidence that people are interested in politics and that they want to conduct dialogue. They draw attention to problems. The government consistently asserts the policy of public information," L. Adamec stressed.

Further, he explained the attitude of the Czechoslovak Government toward the frequently discussed human rights issue. Foreign media, including the Austrian media, do not always report on the subject comprehensively and objectively. "I do not agree that socialism is incompatible with the application of human rights, as some critics insinuate."

The government identifies itself with the Final Document of the Vienna follow-up meeting. We are gradually amending our legal system in connection with the drafting of the new Constitution. We are drafting a new bill on the freedom of association and the freedom of assembly. The Czechoslovak Socialist Party and the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation have submitted proposals for some changes already.

A number of positive changes have occurred in relations between the Catholic Church and the state. New bishops had been appointed after the agreement with the Vatican. "I myself have received some of them, we exchanged views and agreed on the need for good cooperation between the state and the church," L. Adamec said, and noted further that the enrollment procedure for religious instruction classes has been simplified, and the imports of religious literature have improved. Church dignitaries are members of the commission drafting the new Constitution and we are drafting a new bill on the freedom of religion and on religious organizations.

Ladislav Adamec explained to the representatives of the Austrian dailies the changes adopted by the Czechoslovak Government to simplify our citizens' travel to the capitalist countries. This year 30 percent more Czechoslovak tourists went abroad, and the entry of foreign tourists to Czechoslovakia has been simplified also.

He also explained the stance of the government on dialogue with citizens. "Pluralism of views is not alien to us. The National Front affiliates five political parties and some 30 social and special-interest organizations. We want the National Front to be more active and more progressive. But even now, within the framework of the National Front, there is the possibility to express oneself on all issues of Czechoslovak society without exception—under one condition: that this is done from the

positions of the Constitution and socialism. In Czechoslovakia there are several informal organizations totaling fewer than 1,000 persons, which, however, we do not intend to legalize. We are convinced that they have the opportunity to assert themselves within the National Front's activity. We do not fear criticism, provided its objective is rectifying things and supporting the socialist system, we do not avoid it. However, should its aim be the liquidation of the socialist system, we shall not agree to such dialogue," L. Adamec confirmed.

Asked about his personal relationship with Austria, he said: "I have a very nice relationship with your country. I have had the opportunity to visit it several times and I appreciate the advantages of Austria. The Austrians are diligent and honest people. I have good friends there whom I value very much. I consider Austria to be a friendly neighboring state, and I would be glad if not only Austrian citizens, but also some Austrian media, would be of the same opinion regarding Czechoslovakia."

Asked how the Czechoslovak Premier assesses the developments in the USSR, L. Adamec replied: "I know that restructuring in the Soviet Union is connected with immense complexities, that it is a difficult process. One of the problems is the shortage of goods on the domestic market. People have plenty of money with which they cannot buy what they would like to. Of course, we follow the progress of restructuring in the Soviet Union, because if the restructuring in the USSR turns out to be a success, this will be success for the CSSR also. We are very firmly economically integrated, 40 percent of our foreign trade is with the Soviet Union; from the USSR we import crude oil, gas, iron ore, and other raw materials."

In connection with the answer concerning the assessment of the development of the situation in the GDR, L. Adamec said that great changes have occurred in the GDR recently. "I, personally, am of the opinion that an exchange of functions after a certain time—while maintaining fundamental continuity—is indispensable," L. Adamec said.

During the interview the Austrian journalists also asked several questions concerning the problem of human rights in the CSSR which, according to their opinion, are burdening the Czechoslovak-Austrian relations. Ladislav Adamec voiced the conviction that this matter requires a more objective assessment than that of the Austrian media. "We are a sovereign country. Austria is also a sovereign country. Therefore it is not right when someone arrogates to himself the right to dictate to us how to do things," L. Adamec stated. To a specific question concerning an alleged ban on travel by a former CSSR Minister of Foreign Affairs to Austria, L. Adamec replied that travel documents—passport and exit permit—were issued to Jiri Hajek on Friday [20 October], and he could depart on an invitation to Austria.

In connection with the illegal activities of some representatives of illegal associations standing outside the National Front, the Premier noted that if someone organizes antistate actions, violates laws of this state, one must draw conclusions from that.

Joint Bank With Western Partners Founded

AU2510172289 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 25 Oct 89 p 8

["ski" report: "CSSR Banks Join Western Partners"]

[Excerpt] Frankfurt/Main—For the first time, CSSR and Western partners have founded a joint bank. The joint venture, called the Prague Trade Bank, which was announced in May, has now been established in Frankfurt. It will start work next April. The majority of the capital of DM20 million is held by two CSSR banks—Obchodni Banka (Trade Bank) with 45 percent and Zivnostenska Banka (Business Bank) with 10 percent. The second largest shareholder is the Deutsche Genossenschaftsbank (German Cooperatives Bank) with 30 percent; Guenther Schmidt-Weyland, member of its board of directors, is the chairman of the board of directors of the new bank. Other participants are the Austrian Raiffeisen Zentralbank (10 percent) and the Berlin Trade and Frankfurt Bank (BHF). [passage omitted]

Hungarian Critics of Party Policies Interviewed

AU2310193989

[Editorial report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 19 October on page 6 carries the 1,000-word first installment of an article by Gejza Vilcek entitled "What Values Do Hungarian Communists Want To Protect?" On 21 October, on page 4, Bratislava PRAVDA carries the 1,200-word second and last installment of Vilcek's article. The article describes the author's visit to two "large and successful Hungarian enterprises" and his conversations with local communists about the recent Hungarian party congress and the party leadership's current policies.

In the first installment of his article, which is subtitled "In Babolna After the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) Congress," first Vilcek discusses the outstanding economic results of the Babolna agricultural combine, which he sees as proof that it is possible to prosper "under conditions of socialist large-scale production."

Vilcek goes on to interview Gabor Nagy, deputy general director of the Babolna combine, on his view of the process of reforms in Hungary. Nagy replies that "from the viewpoint of the economy, the reforms have not yet crystallized. Neither the HSP nor the opposition build on realities, but on intentions. The only thing that has been set in motion is the reform of ownership." Nagy goes on to say that changes in the form of ownership must be decided according to local conditions. As to the Babolna combine, he says, "large-scale production has conclusively demonstrated its merits" and "any fragmentation of ownership would therefore be stupidity."

Asked what consequences it would have "if the party organization had to leave the enterprise," Nagy replies that every resident of Babolna is linked with the combine in one way or another and that the enterprise and local party organizations had been merged as far back as after the 13th Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (MSZMP) Congress. He voices the opinion, however, that when operating in the enterprise, the party can "influence the shaping of people's mood and attitudes" and thus facilitate the implementation of structural changes or cutbacks in staff numbers.

Commenting on the political situation in Babolna, Nagy says that he believes that most members of the MSZMP will join the HSP. "If some do not join the new party," he says, "they will mostly cite as their reason that they do not understand what is going on." In Nagy's opinion, "the opposition does not stand a chance" in Babolna.

In the second installment of the article, which is subtitled "In Raba Gyor After the HSP Congress," Vilcek discusses the economic and political situation in the Raba plant in Gyor. Vilcek says that, contrary to the claims of the Hungarian opposition that "socialist large-scale production leads the country's economy into ruin," Raba Gyor is a highly successful enterprise whose satisfied customers include General Motors and which is likely to surrender 5.7 billion forints to the state budget this year.

Commenting on the political atmosphere in the enterprise, Vilcek says: "One can discern uncertainty in the mood among the Communists of Raba Gyor. They are critical of the MSZMP leadership, which did not live up to its resolutions. They say that the party is not prepared for the possible transfer of the activity of HSP organizations to the places of residence. Some say that, although they will not join another party, they will not remain members of the HSP. They do not understand why the radical reform wing within the party is opposed to the existence of party organizations in factories. Instead of an abundance of talk, they expect deeds and a solution to economic problems. They know from their own experience that Communists in the Raba plant have never been in the way of any good initiative. They do not understand why dirt is being thrown on the party from all sides. Many of them will, no doubt, join the new party. However, they will do so not in order to join the choir of slanderers of everything accomplished so far, but to protect the values that have been created to date, thanks to the courageous and progressive economic and social policy of the enterprise."

In his article Vilcek also interviews Laszlo Banga, chairman of the party organization, on the situation in the Raba plant. Banga says, among other things: "The general view here is that the HSP must not renounce its base—people on salaries and wages. I assume that the opposition has all in all about 100,000 people. This is not a force that could possibly push the party out of factories. In spite of this, this idea was born in the party. There has never been any massive pressure in this country for the inception of new parties, and still, they have come into existence. It is as though party members themselves had turned against the party to disintegrate it under the slogan of reforms. There are now 1,280 party members in the plant. None of them wants to go back to bureaucratic methods of management, but they do not understand why the term 'dictatorship' is being constantly used in connection with the party's activity."

Summing up his impressions from his visits to Babolna and Gyor, Vilcek says that these two enterprises furnish evidence that "working under the conditions of socialism does not necessarily mean working badly and without success." This is why Communists in Babolna and Gyor reportedly "do not understand the efforts of the opposition and of some forces within the party which, under the influence of some kind of a petty bourgeois radicalism, aim at the renunciation of everything that has been created so far."

Data Published on Slovak Minority in Romania

AU2510171889

[Editorial report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 23 October on page 5 carries an 800-word interview with Corneliu Barborica, a Romanian writer and translator of Czech and Slovak literature, by RUDE PRAVO staff journalist Karel Ulik entitled "Your Literature Has a Good Name." The undated interview, which was conducted in the House of Writers in Bucharest, deals mostly with Barborica's translations of works of Czech and Slovak literature and the way they are received in Romania. In one question, Barborica is asked about the fate of the Slovak minority in Romania, of which he is member. He replies that some 25,000 Slovaks live in Romania, mostly in the area of Nadlak in southern Banat, and that most of them work as farmers or miners. "Like every other national minority," he continues, "they have the supreme right to their own language and literature." Barborica mentions that he himself helps edit a Slovak literary "almanac," called VARIACE, and that every year "at least two volumes by authors who are members of the Slovak minority" are published in the country.

Hungarian Minority Accused of Incitement in Slovakia

AU2510100589 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Oct 89 p 3

[Interview with Ondrej Kvaka, leading secretary of the West Slovak CPSL Regional Committee, by Jan Medved and Gustav Capko: "With the People and for the People"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] The restructuring of party work, the principles of which were submitted at the Ninth Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Session, is making its way into the life of the party organs and organizations. We spoke with Ondrej Kvaka, leading secretary of the West Slovak Communist Party of Slovakia Regional Committee, about the results being achieved in his region. [passage omitted]

[Question] Recently, the appeal by illegal structures', Charter 77 in particular and the Few Sentences, caused considerable agitation. What stance did the region's citizens adopt toward the above-mentioned structures?

[Kvaka] In the letters received by the party regional and district committees, the working people and the citizens of the region condemned the Few Sentences appeal and the Panorama program broadcast on Hungarian television. They saw them as an attempt to introduce unrest into our society and to disrupt restructuring. They demanded that we not permit our constructive endeavors to be subverted and that the organizers of these events be dealt with according to our laws.

The majority of working collectives reacted negatively to the attempts to portray our society as stagnating. This is at variance with the experiences from their lives and with the specific political and economic situation. The people referred to the fact that the authors of the appeals are abusing any problems that are cropping up as well as the shortcomings in supplies, transportation, and health care, problems which would not exist if those responsible for such matters showed greater urgency and discipline. They insisted that the regional committee make more exacting demands on the work of the management, planning, and control organs when they deal with the difficulties and problems accompanying the current stage of our society's development.

In this regard, critical voices were targeted and directed not only toward the organs but also toward their own ranks, targeted on those who are responsible for specific shortcomings under our local conditions.

[Question] The present situation demands that every communist be in the first rank while asserting new things and while strengthening the constant values of socialism, against which most attacks are made. What is the situation regarding this in your regional party organization?

[Kvaka] Despite the positive political development and the support for it on the citizens' part, some phenomena and events organized and incited by individuals are being manifested. Their intentions are oriented toward negatively influencing the people's opinions as well as toward the dissemination of unfounded and untrue information and demands. Leaflets against the party and socialism have also appeared.

Twenty-one percent of the region's population, that is, approximately 360,000 inhabitants, are ethnic Hungarians. They support the party's policy and the socialist state. We have succeeded in implementing a Leninist internationalist policy on nationalities, a policy based on mutual respect.

However, recently we have been confronted by the abuse of some events organized by the local CSEMADOK—Hungarian People in Czechoslovakia Cultural Union—organizations. At some cultural and educational events, they have also included programs which, according to their contents, are directed against the restructuring of our society and the measures adopted for the further development of socialist democracy. Such manifestations took place in the Levice, Nitra, and Nove Zamky districts where speakers from antisocialist organizations in Hungary and other states came to the planned events.

We are creating conditions in order that such phenomena do not make their way into the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros dam project. A working bustle prevails on our part of the construction. The plan and the gradual deadlines are being fulfilled.

The influence of neighboring countries, the number of tourists, and the mass bulk buying and exportation of certain kinds of foodstuffs and consumer goods unfavorably affect our people's opinions. Our citizens are demanding that the rate of exchange of the Czechoslovak koruna be resolved against the currencies of the surrounding states.

In this situation, it is not enough to merely make statements about or to criticize the manifestations by antisocialist forces; it is necessary to take practical steps, first and foremost, to initiate purposeful mass political work. Therefore, the regional committee regards it as one of its most important political tasks to intensify dialogue between party organizations and the working people, to hold regular meetings, to develop contacts with pre-war party members, with representatives from youth organizations, with young deputies, with representatives from the non-communist political parties, and so on. On the basis of such direct and frank discussions, we are reaching a starting point together for dealing with the most burning problems that embitter the people's lives.

Our experiences confirm that only the close cooperation between party organizations and working collectives provides the guarantee that we will honorably fulfill restructuring tasks.

(Medved and Capko] Thank you for the interview.

Vaclav Havel Arrested, Hospitalized in Prague

AU2710085189 Vienna ORF Teletext in German 0832 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] CSSR author and dissident Vaclav Havel was again arrested in his apartment in Prague yesterday [26 October].

Later, Havel had to be taken to hospital where he has been admitted for treatment for serious respiratory illness.

The CSSR authorities' actions are presumably connected with the upcoming anniversary of the founding of the CSSR. The "Charter 77" civil rights movement and other groups have called a demonstration in Prague tomorrow [28 October].

Opposition Accused of 'Orchestrating' Anniversary

AU2510202589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Oct 89 p 7

["(VE)"-signed report: "A Day of 'National Reconciliation' Orchestrated by the Opposition"]

[Text] Budapest (from our own correspondent)—Monday's [23 October] morning commentary on Hungarian radio, a commentary which contained bitter anti-Soviet invectives in connection with 1956, did not indicate that 23 October 1989 would indeed be a day of "national reconciliation," as the appeals from Parliament, the Hungarian Socialist Party, and the other 23 political parties and movements had requested. The evaluation of this anniversary—the beginning of the well-known events in Budapest in the autumn of 1956—had been fully orchestrated by the opposition, a fact which did not leave the public in any doubt about how the national reconciliation will be represented.

The commemorative celebrations in the capital city began with a mass in St. Stephen's Basilica and continued with reverent gatherings in the places where the greatest street battles took place in the autumn of 1956. However, neither the treacherous execution of 23 prisoners and the unarmed defenders of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party City Committee Building on Koztarsasag Square nor the lynchings which counterrevolutionary groups carried out in the streets of Budapest were commemorated. Similar events were held in the same spirit in other places.

The constitutional law, under which our southern neighbors returned to the name Republic of Hungary, was declared with unprecedented ceremonial appurtenance. After the midday chimes were heard on the radio, Matyas Szuros, the chairman of the National Assembly, who on Monday became interim president, stepped out on the balcony of the Hungarian Parliament Building, beneath which thousands of citizens and numerous guests from abroad had gathered.

He ceremonially proclaimed that the Republic of Hungary associates itself with the progressive past and, among other things, with the republic declared in 1946. He particularly highlighted "the historical inspiration of the popular uprising and the movement for national independence starting from October 1956," without mentioning one word about the counterrevolutionary circumstances surrounding the events.

According to him, the Republic of Hungary will be an independent and democratic state governed in accordance with the rule of law and in which "the same values of a bourgeois democracy as of democratic socialism" will be applied. Apparently, he is taking upon himself "responsibility for the fate of Hungarians living outside the republic," that is, responsibility for the citizens of other sovereign states! At the same time, he will establish relations with the East and West and he resolves to contribute to the consolidation and security of Europe.

Szuros' idea that the undisturbed and balanced development of relations with the Soviet Union continues to be in the national interest was received by part of the crowd with disagreement. On the other hand, his words about the efforts to cooperate with the United States were drowned out by enthusiastic applause.

Ban on Organ Concert in Church Criticized

AU2510171189

[Editorial report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 23 October on page 5 carries an 800-word article by Ivan Ruml entitled "Organ, Church, Concerts." The article is published in response to a letter sent to RUDE PRAVO by a group of music lovers from Varnsdorf and Rumburk in North Bohemia, in which they complained about the decision of the local authorities "not to authorize" a concert of organ music in the church of Filipov, near Rumburk. In their letter, excerpts of which are included in Ruml's article, the authors convey their "outrage" at the fact that "someone somewhere has decided that we cannot listen to beautiful music only because it would be performed in a church." They add that they would be just as happy to attend a concert of organ music in a "house of culture, once one is built with an organ in it."

Ruml criticizes the decision not to allow the concert to take place as "narrow-minded" and wonders whether those who made it do not know that concerts of organ music are regularly performed in the churches of Prague. He also says: "Should we close our eyes to cultural heritage only because we regard its sources as a relic? No, I really do not think that the monumental sound of this somewhat bulky instrument could shake anyone's atheistic convictions, just as a spaceship does not shake a devout Catholic's faith."

Report on 19 Oct Government Session

AU2510132689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Oct 89 pp 1,2

[CTK report: "CSSR Government Held Meeting"]

[Text] Prague—The CSSR Government held a plenary session on Thursday [19 October]. It addressed problems connected with health care in accordance with its policy statement.

Health care and the improvement of the state of health of the population in the CSSR are one of the issues of social, but also economic, development in the current stage of building socialist society in our country. The stagnation of a number of indicators of health care in recent years ranks us to lower levels of the European and world scales despite the fact that our society has been expending considerable and ever increasing resources on this sphere. Between 1970 and 1988, health expenditure almost tripled to Kcs35,9 billion.

Therefore, in the course of the past year these problems were addressed by the highest state and party bodies—above all the Presidium of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak

Communist Party] Central Committee, the Presidium of the CSSR National Front Central Committee, and the CSSR Federal Assembly. Their suggestions and recommentations were used when drafting background information for the deliberations of the CSSR Government.

These bodies stressed the need for national assistance in the development of health care, but also the need for changes in the health system itself, especially regarding its effectiveness, and the economic and expedient outlay of resources.

The Federal Government noted that considerable untapped potential exists in that area.

The material which the CSSR Government discussed contains, above all, a package of tasks designed—both from the present and future-oriented angle—to improve the situation in the CSSR health care.

Involved, above all, is the change of the attitude by the whole of society, as well as by individuals, toward health care, toward creating healthy living and working conditions. Rational nutrition is also involved.

Further, the development of the health sector's material-technical base will be effectivelly supported, of a sector in which measures had been approved for improving the situation in the production of materials and instruments and ensuring raw materials for the health sector by other, predominalty production, departments.

Particular attention was devoted to the division of resources on imports from the nonsocialist countries, which in 1990 will be increased by Kcs960 million in excess of the state plan.

Also, measures in the areas of cadres and wages were adopted, aimed at improving the situation especially in the first line of contact with patients and in the area of nursing.

Last but not least the instruction was released to carry out changes in the internal arrangement of the health care system in order to substantially increase the efficiency of the Czechoslovak health services, above all, by making use of all resources and untapped potential which our system has at its disposal today.

The issue of increasing patients' copayment for health care in case of some services which are not necessary, and for medicines, was also assessed.

To try to prevent the misuse of free medical services, tasks aimed at setting up a system of patients' copayment for the treatment of illnesses for which they are responsible (alcoholism, smoking, nonobservance of doctor's instructions, nonobservance of treatment, etc) and a system which limits unwarranted intervention of emergency medical service and ambulance service were assessed.

There are two time frames: There are topical tasks which will be implemented approximately by the end of the first quarter of 1990, and future tasks which will be established within the framework of the document of the CPCZ Central Committee and the CSSR Government "On the Further Development of the Populations' Health and the Health and Social Care in the CSSR Through the Year 2005."

In the preparation of the report "The Main Tasks of Health Care in the CSSR" one also used the findings and the background information of the CSSR People's Control Committee on the results of the checks on medicines and medical supplies available to the population and on the ensurance of the necessary medical technology.

Therefore, the CSSR Government discussed all the aforementioned documents and adopted a joint resolution on them.

In view of the existence of the worldwide AIDS problem, which also concerns Czechoslovakia, the government approved the task to ensure a comprehensive AIDS prevention program for the CSSR.

The CSSR Government addressed problems connected with the domestic market several times last year. Despite the number of adopted measures which made themselves felt at the end of the last year and in the course of this year by calming the situation on the domestic market, the high dynamics of retail trade's turnover continues, the planned incomes and spending of the population are being exceeded, and the growth of personal consumption exceeds the planned rate. Despite the fact that deliveries to the domestic market, especially from local production, are being exceeded, serious shortcomings continue, especially regarding choice.

Whereas the food market has been stabilized on the whole, there still exist problems with satisfying consumers' great demand for industrial goods for households and for cars. The nonfulfillment of the contracted deliveries from domestic production, for example, of portable color television sets, radio receivers and radio-record player-tape deck combinations, video recorders, and bicycles, also shows negatively. Despite the alleviation of the lack of the basic construction materials, the demand for the majority of construction related items remains unsatisfied.

Therefore, the Federal Government has returned to the problems of the domestic market and at its yesterday's [19 October—FBIS] session discussed a report of the CSSR People's Control Committee on the results of a check of the causes for the shortages of selected types of goods for the domestic market, the program of the Federal Ministry of Metallurgy, Engineering, and Electrotechnical Industry for eliminating the shortage of engineering consumer goods on the domestic market, a report of the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Food on ensuring supplies of basic foodstuffs for the domestic market, and a critical comprehensive report on the fulfillment of tasks from the CSR Government's resolution No.87/1989 on measures designed to solve the main shortcomings in the sphere of domestic market.

The report on the check of causes for the shortages of selected types of goods on the domestic market, carried out by the CSSR People's Control Committee, objectively notes the shortcomings of the domestic market, which are the subject of justified criticism by our citizens. The check of the CSSR People's Control Committee also revealed that it is necessary to increase the interest of suppliers in deliveries to the domestic market. In this connection, still in the course of this year, a "Program For the Renewal and Consolidation of the Balance of the Czechoslovak Economy, Including the Domestic Market" is being prepared for the Czechoslovak Government to discuss.

From the report on the implementation of tasks arising from the CSSR Government's resolution No.87/1989 on measures designed to solve the main shortcomings in the area of the domestic market, it arose that the annual planned deliveries to the domestic market will be exceeded by at least Kcs4 billion, and the retail trade turnover will also be exceeded by that sum. The results could be better provided the tasks in the import of consumer goods are properly fulfilled. Therefore, the government adopted appropriate measures in that connection. Further measures are aimed at mobilizing claims the CSSR has against other countries to import consumer goods. The fulfillment of these measures will partially improve the current situation on the domestic market. Also, other measures were approved, for example stepping up imports next year through barter deals for engineering products, increasing the production industry's interest in deliveries of consumer goods, and the like.

At its session the Federal Government further discussed a program for the elimination of the shortage of durable consumer goods on the market through the year 1992 with an outlook to the year 1995. Approved were proposals for improving the domestic market's sypply with 7 types of durable consumer goods—refrigerators, freezers, automatic washing machines, bath tubs, electric ovens, bicycles, and kitchen and bathroom fixtures. The program ensures a substantial increase of their deliveries by 1992.

The CSSR Government also discussed a report on ensuring the domestic market with foodstuffs in 1989 and 1990, and ensuring animal production in 1990. It noted that regarding basic foodstuffs, the market has been stabilized. Despite that measures were adopted which are necessary to permanently stabilize and eliminate the current shortcomings regarding the quantities, quality, and choice of foodstuffs.

The gradual implementation of structural changes and other rationalization measures within the framework of the restructuring of the economic mechanism will require a more marked mobility on the part of the employees. Therefore, the Federal Government approved principles for a legal amendment related to severance pay for unneeded employees, their retraining, and material security of citizens prior to their taking up employment.

Their main purpose is updating and making uniform the existing legal regulations in that sphere. The principles also determine concrete tasks for economic organizations and national committees for the care for the working people. These principles will be included in the decree of the Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, which will go into effect on 1 January 1990.

Health Care Problems Discussed at News Conference

AU2610090089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Oct 89 pp 1,2

[Zdena Stepankova report: "Health—Our Most Precious Commodity"]

[Excerpts] Prague (From our own correspondent) —Our public has certainly not overlooked the fact that last week the Federal Government discussed the main tasks concerning people's health care and that it adopted specific measures to guarantee these tasks. On Monday [23 October] Jaroslav Prokopec and Anton Molnar, the ministers for health and social affairs in the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic, gave a briefing on the main principles of the tasks under discussion at a regular news conference after the government meeting.

It is indisputable that one of the most important measures which the government has adopted is to increase the amount covering the most essential needs of Czechoslovak health care to Kcs960 million in foreign currency resources above the state plan directive. Recently, in particular, the situation surrounding the shortage of medicines and other health care materials has caused concern. Some medical equipment necessary for making a quick diagnosis and, thus, for initiating treatment on time, is lacking. In turn, a lot of equipment is not in use because there are no spare parts for it.

Czech health care is receiving an additional Kcs470 million from these resources and Slovak health care is receiving Kcs230 million. A contingency reserve fund is to be established amounting to Kcs247 million in foreign currency resources. From this fund, Kcs187 million will be used to deal with AIDS prevention and Kcs60 million will be used for the gradual implementation of a health care information system project. As it was emphasized at the news conference, such a system is extremely essential. Whereas the need for medicines is not fixed, there is not even sufficient information regarding the supply of medicines, and pharmacologists agree that accuracy is unthinkable without technology. On the other hand, without information on the real supply situation regarding medicines, a timely rectification is also unrealistic. [passage omitted]

Various manufacturing departments have been reminded more than once that health care supplies must always have priority. Experience has shown that this is not the case. On the contrary, while the manufacturing enterprise has exported its goods, health care has been procuring them. Mostly, at great cost. Such a situation

should not have arisen. The needs of Czechoslovak health care will indeed be given priority as both national governments have decided.

However, it was also taken into consideration that some manufacturing departments can only fulfill these obligations on the assumption that conditions will be established for them to do so. This means that their exports will be reduced and, on the other hand, that equipment will be imported for them, equipment with which production can be guaranteed.

Next year, expenditure on health care will reach Kcs42.5 billion and will comprise 6.9 percent of used national income. Although it is impossible to economize in health care, the amount devoted to health care will always be dependent on our economy's capabilities. It is being considered that the health care sector should carry out some services for enterprises and organizations in return for payments. These could be, for example, rehabilitation services, the expansion of preventative care, convalescence care, and so on. The role of citizens in funding some services is being discussed. This question was also posed at the news conference. This possibility does not concern basic care; but why, for example, should people be treated for nothing if they pay no heed to their doctor's advice?

The citizens should also know how much is paid for health care through taxation as well as how much each medicine costs. The possibility is being considered of introducing a system of health insurance as an institution, not only for guaranteeing health insurance payments but, especially, as an institution for the independent, expert, and comprehensive control of the use made of resources, of the efficiency of health care facilities, and of the quality of health care.

The comprehensive approach to dealing with health care will certainly bring results. However, this will not come about immediately. But patients should notice many improvements next year. The resolution of salary issues in health care itself is also being reckoned with.

Stejskal on Prospects of Convertibility

AU2610142089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Oct 89 p 3

[Interview with Jan Stejskal, CSSR minister of finance, by Pavel Paral: "About the Path Toward Koruna's Convertibility;" place and date of interview not given; opening paragraph is RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Text] The CSSR Government recently approved the "Concept of Creating Conditions for Czechoslovak Koruna's Transition Toward a Single Exchange Rate and Convertibility." We have asked Jan Stejskal, CSSR minister of finance, for an explanation of the basic approaches to the introduction of convertibility, from which the concept proceeds.

[Paral] Comrade minister, could you tell us why the issue of koruna's convertibility is being raised at this time?

[Stejskal] If we want to successfully implement the restructuring of the economic mechanism, at the same time we must establish conditions for a broader use of the internal and external functions of money. The currency's convertibility permits a deeper functional interlinking of our economy with the world and the ability of the national economy to adapt to the conditions of the world market. The need for gradual steps toward convertibility arises from the demand to raise the performance of our economy and to effectively involve the CSSR in the international division of labor and in socialist economic integration.

Within the framework of drafting the Ninth 5-Year Plan and the long-term outlook through the year 2005, transition toward convertibility therefore represents a realistic program, a program which is connected with measures to reinforce economic balance and with the program of structural changes in the Czechoslovak economy. This means that even today, in adopting all measures of principle in the sphere of socioeconomic development, it will be essential to respect the target of achieving the convertibility of the Czechoslovak currency. The task of achieving the koruna's convertibility also forms part of the resolution of the Seventh Session of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee on the comprehensive restructuring of the economic mechanism.

[Paral] What are the main conditions for attaining convertibility and what changes in the national economy will their creation require?

[Stejskal] In explaining the basic conditions for attaining convertibility, we use a turn of speech that may be somewhat simplified but which is, nevertheless, to the point—the path toward the convertibility of the currency leads primarily via the exchangeability of goods. What does this mean? It means, in brief, producing a sufficient quantity of good-quality and competitive goods not only for the internal market but also for exports. The national economy must generate enough exchangeable goods to acquire foreign exchange funds for goods which it is more advantageous to import than to make at home.

This means that to achieve convertibility we must maintain a certain economic balance in internal and external relations. At the same time it will be necessary to carry out mutually interlinked and coordinated changes in the monetary, financial, price, foreign exchange, and exchange rate policies, in the planning of external economic relations and in the restructuring of CEMA's foreign exchange and financial mechanism. Convertibility also requires more consistent progress in implementing structural changes.

These changes can be effected only gradually and they must be accompanied by a number of anti-inflationary measures. Emphasis must also be placed on maintaining a balance of payments, with the aim of preventing a rise

in our indebtedness. The bringing closer together of foreign and domestic prices; the implementation of anti-inflationary measures, particularly in the financial, credit, and interest rate policies; and the full utilization of economic instruments in steering external economic relations also belong here. An important role is played by the gradual introduction of a single and realistic exchange rate of the Czechoslovak currency as a prerequisite of convertibility.

In other words, substantive as well as systemic measures encompassing the economy as a whole are concerned here. It would therefore be wrong to simplify the issue of convertibility and confine it to measures in the financial and banking sphere alone.

[Paral] Which of the conditions you have outlined must be met by the end of this 5-year plan and which of them must be met in the next one?

[Stejskal] At its last session, the CSSR Government approved the "Concept of Creating Conditions for Czechoslovak Koruna's Transition Toward a Single Exchange Rate and Convertibility." At the same time the Government laid down the task of working out by the end of the year a program of specific measures, with fixed time limits, to be taken in individual sectors of the national economy. On this basis, the draft of a comprehensive program of transition toward the convertibility of the Czechoslovak currency is to be submitted to the Government by the end of April 1990.

At the same session, the Government also adopted specific measures of a systemic and experimental nature for the next 3 years. These include the task of creating conditions, by 1 January 1992 at the latest, for bringing together the commercial and noncommercial exchange rates against the currencies of nonsocialist countries; the task of testing by experimentation a state-regulated foreign exchange market for freely convertible currencies; the task of introducing foreign exchange enterprise accounts in transferable rubles and the national currencies of socialist countries, including the use of elements of a foreign exchange market for commercial and noncommercial payments; and the task of expanding the use of the socialist countries' national currencies in mutual payment relations. Furthermore, in the next 3 years we will develop cashless methods of payment (by means of credit cards, for example) with nonsocialist countries with the aim of supporting foreign tourism and introduce new instruments of regulating the supply of money by the central bank, instruments derived from the requirement to consolidate the circulation of money by pegging it to the generation of national income and the development of prices and wages.

Measures are being prepared to reduce subsidies from the state budget in manufacturing and foreign trade. A more flexible exchange rate policy will increase the effectiveness of the impact of exchange rates in the management of the national economy.

[Paral] It is apparent that the first step toward genuine convertibility will be the introduction of a realistic exchange rate. Can it be expected to stay at its present level?

[Stejskal] The answer to this question will be provided by life itself. The development of the exchange rate will reflect the relative development of labor productivity in our country and in the world and confidence in the koruna and its stability.

You rightly stress the need for a realistic exchange rate. According to the present practice, we proceed from the premise that a realistic exchange rate should primarily reflect the true cost of the acquisition of foreign exchange, that is, how many korunas it costs us to earn a foreign exchange unit. The present level—which, in the sphere of commercial payments, stood at Kcs15.84 per U.S. $ at the beginning of October—can be maintained only if we succeed in keeping abreast of the world in the productivity of labor and in the overall performance of our economy. Of crucial importance from this viewpoint are the acceleration of innovation processes, effective structural changes, and reducing the cost- intensiveness of our products, compared with world prices.

Of extraordinary importance for strengthening the purchasing power of the koruna and, by the same token, the exchange rate will be our ability to keep our payments sheet in balance, which will require, above all, an increase in effective exports. I would like to stress, however, that it is not only the level of the exchange rate that matters. It is much more important that the exchange rate should influence decisions at the enterprise and national economic levels as well as the price policy. The foreign exchange rate should influence all enterprise decisions concerning changes in production, structural changes, decisions on imports, and so forth.

[Paral] To what extent is the transition toward the convertibility of the koruna dependent on the solution of foreign exchange and financial issues within CEMA?

[Stejskal] There exists a close connection, if for no other reason than because our economy has wide-ranging ties with the countries of the CEMA community. At the same time, the profound changes taking place in individual CEMA countries require that changes be carried out in the mechanism of steering socialist economic integration as well. Within this framework, the significance is growing of value instruments and of the role of the international socialist market and, hence, also the role of monetary and foreign exchange financial relations between individual member countries.

Urgent questions such as the convertibility of the transferable ruble and the convertibility of national currencies among themselves, the objectivity of exchange rates, and changes in the CEMA credit and banking system are coming to the foreground. Life demonstrates more and more insistently that the existing forms and methods of cooperation in the financial and foreign exchange sphere no longer do so, that they trail behind the pace of changes

in economic relations. Individual countries display diverse approaches to the solution to these questions, a fact that will have to be overcome. The approaches of the Czechoslovak side to changes in the foreign exchange financial system of CEMA countries will therefore be based, apart from other considerations, on the consideration of transition toward the free convertibility of the Czechoslovak currency. We also take into consideration the fact that other CEMA countries, too, would like to achieve the convertibility of their currencies.

[Paral] Are we not, through our efforts to attain convertibility, introducing into our economy inflationary pressures from the outside?

[Stejskal] Such a danger of the introduction of inflation from the outside exists, but it exists even if the currency is not convertible. The opening of the economy to the world in the monetary sphere could increase this danger. It is therefore our task to incorporate into the system of economic management, especially into the management of external economic relations and foreign exchange relations, elements that will allow us to resist or cushion inflationary influences from abroad. However, the decisive matter will be to suppress disproportionate demands for imports for freely convertible currencies, to extend foreign credits in accordance with the economic potentials of our economy, and not to increase our foreign debt. All these are measures aimed at a balanced payments sheet.

[Paral] It follows from all your replies so far that, despite a uniform management of the foreign exchange economy from the center, a distinct decentralization will take place and the independence of individual economic subjects will be reinforced. Will this not bring about a deterioration in the liquidity of our enterprises in foreign exchange?

[Stejskal] In connection with the transition toward convertibility we have been stressing its close ties with the reinforcement of economic balance. This circumstance is decisive for the reply to your question. From this viewpoint, the transition toward convertibility will be linked with the reinforcement of both the independence and the responsibility of enterprises and organizations in the foreign exchange economy.

The application of the principle of self-financing in foreign exchange brings about decentralization. However, at the same time we will rigorously apply the principle that enterprises and organizations can enter into foreign exchange commitments only when they avail themselves of the necessary foreign exchange funds, earned mainly from exports. This will force every enterprise to attend, to a far greater extent than has been the case thus far, to the balance of its foreign exchange economy, to the so-called calender of payments, that is, to the harmony in terms of value and time between its foreign exchange payments and proceeds. The enterprise can ask the bank for a credit to bridge a temporary disharmony, but it will have to prove its returnability in foreign exchange.

[Paral] The process of creating conditions for convertibility is thus virtually at its very beginning. Would it be possible to give our readers an idea about how much time may be needed?

[Stejskal] We are, indeed, only at the beginning. The Ninth 5-Year Plan and the outlook of economic development through the year 2005 are being drafted and the programs of structural changes in our economy and of restoring and reinforcing economic balance are on the drawing board. Following their completion and approval, it will be possible to fix with greater accuracy the timetable of transition toward convertibility. We expect that the comprehensive program of transition toward convertibility which is to be submitted to the CSSR Government by the end of next April will set also the basic timetable of individual stages of the whole process.

The achieving of convertibility will thus depend on how quickly and successfully the principles of the economic reform will be put into life and on the implementation of the goals of the socioeconomic development set out in the Ninth 5-Year Plan.

[Paral] Thank you for the interview.

CPCZ Official Jindrich Masek Dies

AU2510180689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Oct 89 p 2

[CTK report in the Teletype, Mail, Telephone..." column]

[Text] Comrade Jindrich Masek, director of the Metallurgy [Hute] plant of the Skoda Plzen national enterprise, member of the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and of the Commission For the Party's Control and Auditing Work in the Czech Socialist Republic, died suddenly on Saturday, 21 October. He was 59.

Council of State Grants Amnesty to Refugees

LD2710103589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1001 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Council of State has decided that people who committed criminal acts by illegally crossing the border and by illegally emigrating from the GDR before 27 October 1989 are to be amnestied. This also applies to people who before 27 October 1989 committed criminal acts against the state and public order in connection with demonstrations.

Excluded from the amnesty are persons who used violence during the acts or who called for violence, who endangered people's lives and health, and who carried weapons with them or used dangerous means or methods.

The GDR general state attorney is commissioned to ensure the implementation of the amnesty and to report back to the Council of State.

Demonstrations Continue in Several Cities

25,000 in Rostock

LD2610234189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2228 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Rostock (ADN)—There was a non-violent demonstration in Rostock this evening, in which around 25,000 citizens participated. This was encouraged and peaceful event called for during prayers in several Rostock churches. The participants left candles outside the area authority of the Ministry for State Security and went to the Town Hall.

At the same time there were forums at Rostock institutions, to which the city council had invited several thousand inhabitants. In the businesslike and critical dialogue they discussed a new media policy, health care and improved availablity of goods.

In the afternoon acting Mayor Manfred Naumann met with church representatives, representatives of the area government and the district office of the People's Police, as well as with spokespersons for the "New Forum" grouping.

15,000 in Erfurt

LD2610224989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2123 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Erfurt (ADN)—This evening there was a march through the city center to the Cathedral Square in Erfurt, where around 15,000 citizens assembled, after peace prayers in two churches. In their chants they demanded more democracy and reforms and also called for the allowing of the "New Forum" grouping. People's police detachments saw to it that the unannounced demonstration was carried out without danger by directing traffic. After around 40 minutes most of the participants put down their candles and left the square. Several thousand continued to march through the city center.

5,000 in Gera

LD2610224889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2159 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Gera (ADN)—After peace prayers and discussions in several churches in Gera this evening, over 5,000 citizens from the town and surrounding communities began a protest march. On their way through the center they shouted, "Democracy: Now or Never," and "We Are The People."

Schabowski Meets With 'New Forum' Members

LD2610164589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1603 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—First Secretary Guenter Schabowski, as well as secretaries Heinz Albrecht and Horst Oswald today held informative talks with Professor Jens-Georg Reich and Sebastian Pflugbeil at the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Berlin Area Executive. Both interlocutors of the members of the Secretariat of the area executive introduced themselves as members of an initiative group, calling itself "New Forum." They stated that they were taking part in these talks without a public mandate.

The subjects of the talks were issues linked to the process of change, renewal, continuity and dialogue initiated by the ninth session of the SED Central Committee. During the talks issues were touched upon which included the events on 7 October, the local elections on 7 May 1989, and the guarantee of non-violent demonstrations. Schabowski stressed that these issues were dealt with in the statement by the chairman of the Council of State to the People's Chamber.

Professor Reich and Sebastian Pflugbeil stated that their social ideas and activities are clearly determined by moving within the framework of legality and the constitution of the GDR as a socialist state.

Guenter Schabowski pointed to the opportunities for a broad-based dialogue also offered by the "Sunday conversations" at the Red [Berlin's] Town Hall and in the Congress Hall on Alexanderplatz.

Explains Aims

LD2610165189 Hamburg DPA in German 1457 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] [no dateline as received] In East Berlin a member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Politburo—Guenter Schabowski—has for the first time met representatives of the citizens' initiative "New Forum" for official talks. The co-founders of the forum, the molecular biologist Professor Jens Reich and the physicist Sebastian Pflugbeil, took part in the discussion, which lasted about 2 and ½ hours. The meeting took place at the SED Area Executive.

A statement by the citizens' initiative says that the representatives of the forum set out the aims of their GDR-wide group for the SED functionary and gave the assurance that their activities were not directed against the Constitution of the GDR. It was "a businesslike, informative discussion," during which a series of topical questions and problems were discussed. The opposition group has not been authorized by the GDR Interior Ministry because of hostility to the state.

Stoph Puts 'Priority' on Realistic Goals

AU2610154489 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1500 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Today Premier Willi Stoph said that it is the priority task of the government to work out realistic targets that correspond to economic possibilities and are supported by the citizens. In a radio interview, he discussed immediate measures taken by the Council of Ministers to better supply the population with, among other things, consumer goods, spare parts, and textile materials. Additional imports involve technical consumer goods and foodstuffs, he said. However, not all deviations and developments can be stopped all at once. Many things will have to be solved in the next 5-year plan. Stoph supported the idea that the government and the individual ministers will answer to parliament more often in the future. The Council of Ministers is an organ of the People's Chamber and it will make its contribution to the change, Stoph said.

More Consumer Goods

LD2610201889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1713 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Government has decided in the past week to achieve a better supply by importing additional technical consumer goods and foodstuffs. Willi Stoph, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, stated in an interview for the "Aktuelle Kamera" and Radio GDR, that the Council of Ministers concerned itself with the supply, in accordance with plan and contract, of goods and services of high quality, with the supply in the retail trade and with services for the population.

Great efforts will be undertaken, Stoph said, to tangibly improve the production and supply of spare parts, technical consumer goods, and textiles, in particular cotton underwear. He also announced measures to improve transport supply. In addition, equipment and spare parts for meat processing and the milk industry are to be made available this year.

Further measures will follow, the chairman of the Council of Ministers said. One should also be clear that not all problems on the agenda can be solved at the same time. Solutions for several of these tasks will be proposed with the draft of the national economic plan for 1990.

Willi Stoph affirmed that any progress in the national economy will be based on a proportional development, in accordance with the plan, which corresponds to the economic laws of socialism. In the past, deviations and false developments have been permitted which led to the known difficulties: spare part supply, delivery problems, supply to the population of selected products.

Only by means of a clear stock taking and a frank analysis can production be shaped so that the present needs of the citizens are catered for better and the growing needs ever better satisfied in the future. That will only be possible in stages. Willi Stoph: "We are doing what we can. We can only use what has been produced beforehand. The state directors—beginning with the Council of Ministers—should guarantee the required material conditions for this."

The entire Council of Ministers knows that hard work and well thought-out decisions in people's interests are required to consolidate citizens' confidence in the government or to restore it, Willi Stoph said. Proposals, criticisms, pointers, and suggestions have to be taken seriously by everyone and everywhere and used in daily work. Members of the government will consult with collectives in enterprises, institutions, and regions. The government is in favor of open and honest dialogue with citizens. It is ready to take on board thoughts and questions and to look for solutions which correspond to the people's interests and are directed toward the further development of socialism.

The Ninth Session of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany the Council of Ministers undertook a preliminary assessment of the orientation given there for its future work. It was in complete agreement with the resolutions of this session and with the speech to the People's Chamber by the chairman of the Council of State and will fashion its work as a body of the People's Chamber accordingly.

The government will make its contribution to the necessary change in the development of state and society, Willi Stoph stated. That means leading the unitary implementation of state policy and organizing the fulfillment of the political, economic, cultural and social as well as the defense tasks entrusted to it.

Many positive things have been achieved for the GDR and its citizens in the past. However many problems, particularly over the last few years, have built up, which have been discussed openly and in some cases with great passion during these days and weeks, Willi Stoph said. There has been an open and critical discussion on many of these issues within the Council of Ministers which has led to these preliminary conclusions.

Willi Stoph also announced that the Council of Ministers will discuss the draft of a law on travel at its next session and afterward present it for public discussion.

The head of government stressed that now personal responsibility, actions which are full of initiative and

which courageously turn toward the new are now necessary. In this they will cooperate very closely with the mass media.

Coexistence of Marxists, Christians Advocated

AU2710095689 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 0900 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] Manfred Stolpe, deputy chairman of the Conference of Evangelical Church Directorates in the GDR, has advocated coexistence of Marxists and Christians. Before 800 people in the Potsdam Church of the Savior last night [26 October], he urged a public and unprejudiced debate. He said that different positions must be fully discussed, and in doing so, citizens who had alternative ideas could give significant impulses regarding the change of society. Stolpe stressed that the GDR could not and must not give up the attribute socialist. However, the terms democratic, antifascist, and rule of law must be added. He demanded that decisions be made that the individual citizens were able to experience. Decisions had to made on more than just passports; decisions had also to be made on substitute military service, among other things, Stolpe said.

Aurich Offers Discussion to All Youths

LD2610163389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1512 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The first secretary of the Central Council of the Free German Youth (FDJ), Eberhard Aurich, made an offer of discussion to all GDR youth on Thursday afternoon in Berlin, at the beginning of the 12th Central Committee meeting. The 2-day discussion of the highest council of the youth association is dealing with a new determination of the working style of the FDJ in town and country, he said. All ideas and proposals on this are needed.

In the past the FDJ has not always been able to recognize contradictions and has helped to cover up much and push it from sight, Eberhard Aurich noted.

He gave information on a letter received the same day from the general secretary of the SED Central Committee, in which Egon Krenz gave thanks for an assessment, dated 9 October, on the political situation among GDR youth. It has been put at the disposal of all members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Politburo.

Eberhard Aurich said that Egon Krenz has invited the Office of the Central Council for a discussion in order to speak about proposals from the FDJ on preparations for the 12th SED party congress.

Confidence in Rehabilitation

LD2610224189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1926 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The deep loss of confidence among GDR youth is also affecting the Free German Youth [FDJ], the political representation of youths' interests, according to Eberhard Aurich, head of the FDJ association. However, Aurich expressed his confidence to ADN about the possibility of rehabilitation.

On the sidelines of a central council session which began today in Berlin he said: "If it succeeds in more accurately capturing the interests of the young people in all their diversity, in addressing their ideals and material interests in life, the FDJ can look to the future with optimism. As soon as it reflects on its qualifications as a youth organization that is not oriented to narrowness, but rather to broadness, it will have a good starting point. One must make something out of that."

The central council session was comparing the demand made by young GDR citizens at this time on their lives and the country with the way the FDJ sees itself. "Here we see starting points for a discussion about the content of aims and tasks. What we should now not decide on too quickly is whether one should create out of diverse interests structures that cut themselves off from one another." Aurich was referring, in saying this, above all to proposals from his own ranks about forming alternative student structures as well as associations of interests within the organization. Forming opinions about this as well will leave its mark on a new FDJ statute, which is on the agenda of the association's congress next year, as is a new youth law.

The FDJ is open to dialogue and renewal, to Marx just as much as for utopias and free thinking, Aurich stressed in his opening speech "What motivates the FDJ?" It sees "no taboos in topics, people, or institutions, in the political conviction or the ideology of the individual." It feels itself challenged by the "bitterness of the past months, by those who left, by the criticism of us in the FDJ, by the distrust encountered in various places, by the demonstrations in the country, and the further intensification of social tensions."

Many clear words were uttered on their own responsibility for the situation that has arisen: "We are not seeking excuses in the conditions under which we were operating. Let us be honest with ourselves. We were not able to throw light on these contradictions earlier and with more commitment. Did we not help to cover up and suppress many things with honest intentions and conviction, and hope that we would nevertheless succeed in winning all young people to the policies of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and the goals of the FDJ?"

In the opinion of the FDJ leader the change started by the latest SED Central Committee session makes possible "the achievement of a new measure of freedom." They support this policy and the new man at the head of the SED and the state. "That is not a new kowtow, not an assurance of following blindly, but a statement of readiness to help." The FDJ wants to be an independent organization.

On the style of leadership in the FDJ, Aurich pointed out that a permanent repetition of words does not bring any advantage if the content does not become clear. "There must be more listening and discussion. Regimentation and administration do not bring us forward, anymore than knowing better and arrogance." It is in no way the intention of the FDJ "to swallow up young people but we want to make independent, democratic actions, which are individually original and conscious of the collective, possible for them. We want to learn them together and to take advantage of them with enthusiasm and responsibility."

In this spirit Aurich also did without any ready answers to the multitude of questions which have arisen. He told ADN: "No one has leased wisdom for himself but everyone tries to learn something for himself from others. That is good." He also referred to the exchange of experiences with the youth organizations of other socialist countries. The FDJ has now lost authority in the international youth movement. "I think the extent to which the FDJ reaches a new understanding of itself, of its new internal activities, will also influence international contacts."

Dresden Official Addresses 100,000 Residents

LD2710103389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2224 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Dresden (ADN)—Hundreds of thousands of residents of the Dresden Area (Bezirk) this evening reacted to the pressing problems of society's development in the GDR and in their communities squares, schools, culture houses, cinemas, and clubs. [passage omitted]

About 100,000 citizens of Dresden came to open ground near the Hygene Museum. Mayor Wolfgang Berghofer briefed them on the results of the extraordinary session of the city assembly on the same day. [passage omitted]

To applause, Hans Modrow, first secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Dresden Area (Bezirk) Executive, said the path now embarked on in the GDR will unleash a revolutionary change. Members of various social groups took the opportunity to ask questions. Several small podia with microphones were available for this. [passage omitted]

After the event, 5,000 to 6,000 people formed a procession and marched with candles, banners, and torches peacefully through the city center from the site of the dialogue.

ADN Journalists Support New Media Law

AU2710120589 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] The journalists of ADN intend to do everything in their power to support the social change that has been initiated in the GDR. As they have stated today, the radical change of information policy must be experienced daily by readers, listeners, and viewers. The staff members of this agency state that they support realistic coverage of domestic policy, which must reflect far-reaching restructuring processes. This will be connected with equally realistic coverage of foreign policy news, which must provide (?a balanced picture of international events).

The journalists suggest that a media conference should be convoked as soon as possible which should draft a strategic concept. What is necessary is a press and media law which would have to be publicly discussed.

Lawyers Council Propose More 'Legal Security'

LD2610145589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1319 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The members of the Council of Chairmen of the Lawyer's Colleges in the GDR are in favor of the development of the legal system and an improvement in legal security in the GDR. In a council statement yesterday which was sent to ADN, they submit the initial proposals on this. They apply, amongst other things, to the electoral legislation, the monitoring of legal regulations and other binding state resolutions, to criminal law, the code of criminal procedure, the material administrative law, the people's police law, and tax law.

The statement begins by noting that the members of the council take a very serious view of the situation in the country. Errors of development have been tolerated for too long, but socialism as the GDR'S only alternative to capitalism must be non-negotiable. Reforms, therefore, could not lead to less, but only to more socialism.

There have been significant successes in the development of the legal system of the GDR, and these can be built upon. It was admitted, however, that there was once a great deal of self-satisfaction with concepts such as "socialist democracy" and "socialist rule of law", with the result that they were not sufficiently imbued with life, the word "socialism" must no longer be seen and felt as a restricting force when placed in front of these terms, but rather as an extension of them.

One failure in the formulation of civil rights was that they were not formulated inalienable enough. In this connection there were too often restrictions in the legal regulations.

In individual cases there were violations of the independence of judges. Several persons in functions believed they could intervene in the administering of justice, which must be stopped in the future. In the applications of Article 213 of the Penal Code (Illegal Crossing of the Border) there was recently frequent violation of the equality of the citizens before the law.

GDR lawyers have always taken their commission toward the clients very seriously and have felt for this reason the trust of the citizens at present as well. But it should be noted in self-criticism that certain false developments were known for years without anything being done about them publicly.

Apart from a new travel law, the following legal developments are considered to be necessary:

A new electoral law should make the choice between several candidates possible and guarantee public control at every stage of vote-counting. The GDR is capable of carrying out this control without international participation. The checking of legal regulations and other binding state decisions as to their adherence to the Constitution should be extended. A body should be set up to which the citizens can turn in order to initiate corresponding controls.

The Penal Code should differentiate clearly between what is allowed and what is forbidden and should concentrate on truly criminal behavior which is seen as such by the majority of the population. The chapters "Crimes Against the State" and "Crimnal Deeds Against the State Order" need reworking in particular. The work on a new version of the Code of Criminal Procedure should be continued consistently with the aim of expanding in an essential way the right to defense and the rights of the victims and those damaged by criminal acts.

The transparency of the administering of justice should be increased.

The lawyers demand that investigative custody centers and penal institutions be relocated in the area of competence of the Ministry of Justice. Only the judge should be allowed to decide on restrictions on the rights of prisoners awaiting trial and of prisoners.

Material adminstrative law should be newly shaped step by step, in order to formulate the rights and duties of the citizens more clearly and to make possible effective judicial review. In addition to extending judicial review to further administrative decisions, it was necessary to expand the competence of the court and to permit legal redress against the decisions of the district courts.

The People's Police Law must, in the view of the lawyers, be newly shaped in order to formulate the powers of the People's Police more clearly. This would increase legal security not only for the citizens, but also for the police.

The provisional identity card for GDR citizens, the so-called PM 12, should no longer be handed out to citizens in order to restrict their rights, except where the identity card had been lost.

Tax law should be designed so that it was simplified, comprehensible, and relevant for the citizens. Unjustified differences in the taxing of craftspersons and tradespersons should be eliminated.

Regarding the incidents during the demonstrations on 7, 8, and 9 October 1989, the violation of the Events Regulation by the demonstrators is regretted in the statement. Insofar as they had committed acts of violence, this was condemned. On the other hand, one could not accept attacks by members of the protection and security organs during the dispersing of such demonstrations or after the bringing in of citizens for legal processing. In this connection the lawyers had been informed of serious attacks that urgently required an assurance of clarification.

The lawyers of the GDR are called upon in the statement to continue to conscientiously fulfill their humanistic task and courageously represent every client with total consistency in every legal matter. That included the defense of accused demonstrators just as it included the defense of accused members of the protection and security organs.

The statement bears the signatures of the chairman of the council and the chairman of the Berlin Lawyers College, Dr Gregor Gysi and the chairmen and deputy chairmen of the lawyers colleges in the other areas [bezirke] of the GDR.

NDPD Asks for 'Democratic Togetherness'

LD2010113189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1847 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Reflection and action leading to change are also the concern of the whole National Democratic Party of Germany (NDPD), of all who feel a personal commitment or hold public office. "We want to advance in order to lead our fatherland of peace and socialism forward on the path of its renewal," says a communique of the NDPD main executive presidium which was published on Thursday. Under the chairmanship of Party Chairman Dr Heinrich Homann, this week it discussed problems of the further development of the party, state, and country.

It emerges from the communique that many opinions and positive responses from the latest membership assemblies, study circles, talks, letters, and other messages received were aired during the discussion which testify to a sense of social responsibility, proportion, and level-headedness but also express concern when examining issues and its willingness to help. The positions of the NDPD People's Chamber group were also included in the discussions to increase its role in the democratic participation process. All this would enrich the process of forming opinions committed to political and social renewal. This would enable NDPD members to help realize the change introduced by the ninth session of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee.

The communique continues: "It is obvious that it was not just a few who, because of the kind and manner in which certain state and civic affairs are arranged, were seeking their place and believed they could not find it, and indeed did not find it. For that we share responsibility. We are shocked by the exodus of tens of thousands, and it is a serious loss for us." Democratic togetherness will now have to become more pronounced and publicly noticeable. Above all, the broad masses of fundamental agreement on social and personal interests should be made better known.

The political experiences of the NDPD from history and the present in the GDR proved, and to what a great extent, that alliances and alliance policy are essential in a socialist state, an irreplaceable factor in realizing the will of the working people. For this very reason, it demands further lively and realistic enhancement. The party is seeking discussion with all who seek an answer to questions on where they stand, and their democratic, professional, and social action. The NDPD will not permit forces to enter its party who seek to change the constitutional foundation of the state, by whatever means. Irrespective of what has to be renewed, changed, and reformed, it must first of all be discussed. We must never lose sight of the fact that socialism on German soil and safeguarding of peace are the conditions, even preconditions, for what will be changed, for continuing a united economic and social policy. That, the NDPD will not give up.

"Least of all will the political representatives of our Western neighboring country be able to mislead us in this. We resolutely reject their attempts to interfere. All the more as these forces are proving their class egoism with a unique militant anti-socialism. They aim to repudiate the postwar order and the worldwide attempts for peace and disarmament to which all hopes for a far-reaching improvement in international relations are linked," it is noted.

The NDPD does not want to see damage inflicted on socialism but wants to see it strengthened. This includes strengthening and applying political power, as constitutionally anchored, in the interests of the people. Likewise, the establishment and handling of the constitutionally guaranteed sovereignty of the peoples' representations, from the People's Chamber to the representations in towns and villages, are included in this.

At stake is the uncompromising implementation of the performance principle in the work of members of the scientific-technological intelligentsia, and in the implementation of socialist law, further travel opportunities, environmental protection, and a sense of reality and willingness to tackle problems by the press, radio, and television.

The NDPD will table further proposals in preparation for the 12th SED Congress, the communique emphasized. In connection with this the NDPD Presidium main executive invites all party members and sympathetic citizens to submit views, suggestions, and proposals on the following problems:

1. The NDPD considers it a crucial task to implement socialist democracy in the larger framework of constitutional structures still more resolutely, and to develop and strengthen in particular, the role of the people's representatives as a basis for the system of the state organs.

2. The fundamental precondition for the unity of economic and social policy is the further increase in the dynamic performance and development of the national economy.

3. An essential component of social justice in society is the socialist performance principle and its understanding as a meritocracy.

4. In further shaping society, the importance of local social policy which is close to the citizens and serves the prosperity of the citizens must grow.

5. The performance development of trade and industry's influences must increasingly improve the working and living conditions of everyone. It is also necessary to provide noticeably better craftsmen and traders with equipment, tools, and materials as well as fully apply the legislative scope through state stimulation and promotion measures.

6. The decrease in the quality of cultural offers in comparable towns and territories should be countered. Everywhere society should use the artistic will to create.

The proposals for these and other issues will be analyzed by NDPD main executive commissions.

Clergyman Unsure of Changes' Significance

AU2010151089 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 20 Oct 89 p 4

[Hans-R. Karutz report: "It Has To Be Seen Whether the Change Really Is a Change"]

[Text] Berlin—Yesterday evening, Superintendent General Guenter Krusche, Berlin's highest clergyman, described the mood in the GDR after the speech by Honecker's successor, Egon Krenz, on the evening before with "expectant skepticism." However, this skepticism is linked with hope, following the motto "Why should it not be true?" Krusche called Krenz the "youngest of the old guard." He asked "whether a completely new face" would not have been "more effective." "But was this politically possible at the present time?" Krusche asked in an interview with DIE WELT.

"I think that all of those who have waited for such a change have difficulties in assessing its significance." "Some new sounds" are doubtlessly audible. For instance: "The admission of mistakes and wrong assessments is something completely new." It has to be seen "to what extent the change really is a change." Asked about Krenz's remark that his speech as general secretary should also make the would-be emigrants reconsider, Krusche was very restrained: "Those who have thought about leaving have not changed their decision after this speech."

East Berlin's highest-ranking priest expressed this conviction: "In the press and on the radio, as well as in the economy, things will happen now. Now it is a joy to read some of our newspapers—JUNGE WELT, for instance."

Krusche referred to important items which were missing in Krenz's speech: "I missed statements about a new election system." Concerning the announced laws on

travel, it is to be seen "how and in which direction" the regulations will be set down. Travel regulations should be made clearer.

Furthermore: "If flight from the republic is no longer punishable by law, those who return will be exempt from punishment, for instance." The priest also mentioned the fact that, according to information which the church has had for some time, "the corresponding new regulations for travel to the West have already been worked out completely."

As regards citizenship, Bonn's arguments are "juridically correct," but if the legal situation remains as it is and no political solution is found, the GDR "will be permanently subjected to the fear that 20,000 people or more will leave the country every year."

Krusche called for considerations of the division of power in the GDR: "Why can the State Council chairman not be elected from among his deputies, for instance? This would show that not all important posts are in the hands of one party." In this connection, Krusche mentioned Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany.

Concerning the protests in the streets, Krusche said that the change means a "new quality." However, he can imagine further demonstrations "with differentiated slogans and without police measures." He wishes for a calming of the situation: "I have already held talks in this respect," he said.

Statues and Basic Positions of New Party

AU2210165189 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 21 Oct 89 p 4

[Report by Peter Philipps: "Support for Human Right an Inviolable Principle"]

[Text] Some 500 members have already joined the new Social Democratic Party of the GDR (SDP) since it was founded on 7 October. Yesterday DIE WELT published the text of the SDP's application for membership in the Socialist International. Today DIE WELT exclusively publishes—with unessential abridgments—the statute of the SDP and its basic positions for drawing up a party program.

Statutes of the Social Democratic Party of the GDR—SDP

Paragraph 1. The name of the party is Social Democratic Party of the GDR (SDP). Its sphere of activities is the entire territory of the GDR.

Principles

Paragraph 2. The SDP comprises people of differing basic convictions and religious beliefs, who feel obliged to the traditions of democracy, social justice, and the responsibility for preserving our natural environment. The SDP stands close to the traditions of democratic socialism of the European socialists and social democrats.

Paragraph 3. The support for observing human and civil rights, which are laid down in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the two human rights conventions (1966), are among the most noble and unavoidable tasks of each member and of the party as a whole.

Paragraph 4. The SDP considers itself a democratic people's party, which is open to all strata of the population. The equal participation of men and women at all levels must be guaranteed (quotas). The party work is based on internal democracy that emanates from the grass-roots level of the party, from which it determines all levels.

Paragraph 5. Clearly rejecting all totalitarian political thinking and acting, the SDP, in cooperation and equal competition with other democratic forces, tries to achieve demonopolization, and the division of power in the state and in society, with the objective of developing social democracy guided by ecological principles. Such a democracy requires a most clear differentiation between state and society, which means, among other things, a separation between state and parties, and state and churches. Thus, the SDP consciously regards itself as part of society and claims to be able to shape society and the state along the lines of its political ideas and principles only to the degree in which it is able, in democratic competition, to convince the majority of the citizens of its ideas, or implement these ideas in free coalition with others. Starting from this self-image, the SDP advocates parliamentary democracy and party pluralism. The SDP pledges its support for non-violence.

Paragraph 6. The respect for the dignity and freedom of man, as well as his own responsibility, his political, economic, social, and cultural participation in state and society are the basic guidelines of social democracy, to which we aspire.

Paragraph 7. The democratic law-governed state, with a strict separation of powers, is based on equal rights and duties of its citizens. On this basis the state has the duty

a) to provide, strengthen, and protect the citizens' personal, social, cultural, and political basic rights and the citizens' opportunity to assume the corresponding responsibility;

b) to guarantee the protection of the natural environment and the availability of resources and living conditions for future generations;

c) to support, with all its strength, peaceful and fair cooperation between the peoples, the internal and external demilitarization, and the establishment of a European and international state of peace.

Paragraph 8. Any monopolization and centralization in state and society must be opposed if they infringe on the social and political rights of the citizens. For the economy, particularly with regard to the state sector, this means to guarantee a democratic control in the case of

inevitable monopolies, to ensure economic efficiency, and to make sure that all projects are compatible with the environment.

Paragraph 9. The objective is to attain a social market economy that is guided by ecological principles, with a mixed economic structure, and with different forms of ownership....

Paragraph 10. It is a fundamental concern of the SDP to support democratic trade unions, associations, and other organizations (concerning women, the protection of children, youth, foreigners, pensioners, environment, and others) and their rights.

Structure

Paragraph 11. General assemblies at local level, party congresses at kreis level....

Membership

Paragraph 12. Anyone, who feels bound by the principles of this statute, can become a member ... when he is at least 18 years old, and a resident of the GDR.

Paragraph 13. The grass-roots groups decide on the acceptance of new members....

Elections

Paragraph 14. Each grass-roots group elects its leadership from its members....as well as delegates for the superior level.

Paragraph 15. The election of the two delegates takes place in secret ballot at all levels....

Paragraph 16. The leading bodies, which consist of these delegates, are complemented at the party congresses by further candidates in proportion with the number of members, and together put up for election....

Paragraph 17. Those who have held an office for 8 years need a two-thirds majority for re-election.

Paragraph 18. Anyone assuming a mandate or state office has to resign from all party functions....

Fundamental Positions for the Party Program

A. On state and social order:

1. Law-governed state and strict separation of powers.

2. Parliamentary democracy and party pluralism.

3. National laws in line with UN human rights.

4. Social justice and security of a minimum existence.

5. Separation of state and society, particularly of state and party, and state and church.

6. Freedom of conscience, religion, speech, assembly, and press, including the prevention of press concentration.

7. Free media under public law.

8. Relative independence of regions, cities, and municipalities.

9. Decentralization and democratization of economic life.

10. Social market economy guided by ecological principles, with democratic control of the economic power.

11. Promotion of social economy and cooperatives, and private economy with equal rights.

12. Right to free trade unions and right to strike.

13. Worker participation.

14. Equal rights....

15. The improvement of the situation of children ... at all levels.

16. Protection of the private sphere....

17. Demilitarization of society and ... disarmament.

18. Freedom of travel and right to emigration for all citizens, including the right to return....

B. On foreign policy:

1. Strengthening of international institutions and legal systems.

2. Participation in establishing a European and universal state of peace that make military alliances superfluous.

3. Recognizing that currently there are two German states as a consequence of the culpable past. This does not exclude possible changes in the framework of a European state of peace.

4. Special relations with the FRG on the basis of a joint nation, history, and the resulting responsibility, particularly for peace in Europe....

Former Journalist Describes Control of Press

AU2010143689 Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 20 Oct 89 p 21

[Report by Vera-Maria Baehr, who worked as a journalist for JUNGE WELT for 12 years and moved to the FRG 3 months ago: "When Honecker Smiles in the Wrong Place"]

[Text] One of the two telephones on the desk of the duty editor of JUNGE WELT, the newspaper of the Free German Youth [FDJ], rings less frequently. But when it rings the chief answers in a muted tone: Yes, it is clear, it is OK. Then he gives orders on how the report on the state visit, on the meeting, on the communique is to be laid out. For instance: page one, in three columns, with a two-column photo of Honecker, three headlines, two columns continuation on page two.

Approximately at the same time, the chiefs of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND and BERLINER ZEITUNG receive similar orders. The Agitation Department in the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] often does the work of the comrades in the newspaper offices. It is already a faux pas if the person on the other end of the line has not been able to follow the train of thought and has erroneously taken the wrong Honecker photo from the stack of photos. One on which the general secretary smiles even though he should not do this on that occasion, or the other way round. Such details are minutely planned in the Central Committee and are passed on to the editors.

The following day, the editor in chief is told over the telephone about the mistakes that were committed and these mistakes are then thoroughly discussed at the editorial conference in the morning. Mostly, such unpleasant discussions end in self-criticism or a reproach. After all, the Central Committee comrades might feel that they have not been understood or have been passed over. Both things are feared by the higher echelons of the newspaper people—not so much by the lower echelons.

If one has the opportunity to frankly ask one who is responsible, he states with honest conviction: Just imagine someone else in my place, someone who makes everything even worse. At least we are able to cautiously prevent the worst. The editors have different opinions about such arguments. Some despise their cringing bosses and, logically, at some time they start to hate themselves. The others cleverly try to see some higher necessity behind every order and consider themselves as the real, clever makers of the newspaper. Still others simply could not care less about the arrangements between above and below. They are looking for an island: health, astronomy, or love, which makes them popular among the apparently most unimportant people involved—the readers.

But even the person who is only responsible for the crossword puzzle is listed as a party journalist. This means that he, too, has to listen every week to what his Comrade Chief presents from the "arguments" from above. This is presented to the assembled heads each Friday by the editor in chief and directly comes from the orders given in the House of the Central Committee, where all editors in chief of East Berlin newspapers have to appear every Wednesday. There they are clearly told how the party wishes to see, for instance, the situation in China, the situation before the Leipzig Fair, or the latest steps of the Polish United Workers Party.

This and only this is the line until further notice. The figures and statistics quoted in the Central Committee make one's own investigations superfluous. Certain terms are taboo and others are recommended for frequent use.

All these unwritten laws are sometimes difficult to remember in the hurry of the day's events, in particular since they are naturally accepted with reluctance. This sometimes results in strange discussions among the ordinary journalists: Is it permitted to again use the phrase "reconstruction of old buildings" or not? Or the other way round: The slogan that has been excessively used for years: "The main task—the policy for the welfare of the people" is arbitrarily inserted into an article, which has already been finished, because the party leadership simply wants to read it more often.

The training of party journalists is aimed specifically at their obedience. Those who manage to master the hurdle of the selection procedure, at which loyalty to the FDJ and to the party is a priority matter, start their studies at the only training institution for journalists in Leipzig.

The party members among the students are commissioned to watch their colleagues and to check on their presence at lectures. Again and again there are expulsion procedures, at which FDJ groups decide on the fate of their colleagues of the same age by vote, in the interest of the lecturers, who prefer to quickly get rid of disobedient students, of those who ask too many questions and read unapproved books.

The fledgling journalists necessarily learn to accept power, which is already shown in a threatening manner during their training, because at the same time they are also indoctrinated with the conviction that all this is necessary and is happening in the interest of the people. One has to be a servant of the party or not a journalist at all.

However, since, despite all discipline, journalists are still people with their own minds, a second process of personality formation is secretly taking place in many cases. They hope: I will do it better one day. I will advocate changes. Such idealists learn to employ tactics, try to make more flexible the set limits within which the truth has to take place. Now, in particular, many journalists are kept going by the hope for perestroyka in the GDR. And they have certainly preserved their ability to change the press from today to tomorrow, if they were permitted to do so.

There are many examples of this. At one time, a young reporter on JUNGE WELT was able to carry out special investigations. A construction worker reported how he and his brigade were prevented from doing decent work because of slovenly leadership. And this happened in the largest area of new housing construction in the capital city, about which articles full of praise were written regularly. Coincidentally, the day before, the SED Central Committee had issued an order to report more frankly on the economy. Therefore, the editor in chief gave his blessing to the reporter's plan to reveal the affair in the newspaper.

The journalist wrote a report about a typical night shift, during which there was more calculating and forging than real work. What was revealed was a system of "lying into one's own pocket," which is widespread in the GDR national economy and is known by everyone, but had never before been a topic for a newspaper article. Before

the article was printed the author, as usual, took her manuscript to the criticized managers in the enterprise. She was met by the combines' press spokesman and the party secretary. Unbelievingly, they looked up after every sentence. You do not really intend to print this? However, they were not able to prove any errors in the text, so the reporter was finally the victor. However, outraged comrades used their connection behind the scenes. They slandered JUNGE WELT by telling its publisher, the FDJ Central Council, that it intended to print and article that would damage the party.

One of the Central Council secretaries removed the article, which was already being printed, at least from the Berlin part of the edition, which has a later closing time and was therefore available for changes from the outside. The editor in chief, who thought that he was acting in accordance with the latest Central Committee order, asked the then-FDJ chief, Egon Krenz, for support. Krenz, for his part, consulted the then lord of the capital city, SED Bezirk chief Konrad Naumann.

A repudiation of the article, which, after all, had already been published in a part of the edition, would have been equal to self-exposure, so that Naumann generously permitted the printing of the article in the Berlin edition of the next day. At the same time, however, he prepared a counterstatement by the combine leadership, which he handed to the author during a private talk, with the order to publish it immediately and without any changes. The counterstatement presents the article as an error. Thus, a Central Committee decision, which obviously had been nothing but empty rhetoric, had been taken too literally.

What remained was increased distrust. Year after year there had been remarks about opening up toward reality, about responsible readers, whose justified questions require knowledgeable, truthful answers. So far, the practical implementation of this has always hit borders that are as hard as concrete. So far, the only thing that has had to be taken literally were direct, specific orders by the party for press work.

Bishop Notes 'First Positive Changes'

LD2510210889 Hamburg DPA in German 2005 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—The bishop of Berlin-Brandenburg, Gottfried Forck, has noted the first positive changes in the GDR and has asked the citizens for patience and level-headedness. He understands the impatience of many who want more humanity and justice as soon as possible, he said this evening in East Berlin in the overflowing Marienkirche near the television tower.

The prayer service was relayed outside by loudspeakers, where several hundred people were listening. About 200 mostly young people had marched beforehand from the Gethsemanekirche in the Prenzlauer Berg district to the city center. Many of them were carrying burning candles. It was with great applause that the approximately 2,000 people greeted the Green Party politicians Petra Kelly and Gert Bastian. [passage omitted]

Forck said that more and more people are now freely expressing their opinion. Newspapers and "Aktuelle Kamera" are gradually ceasing to paint a rosy picture of things; he favors pressing for freedom of speech "patiently and without resistance and without violence." Forck expressed the wish that the GDR will become an attractive socialist state and so social that it can help the poor and distressed in the world to a greater extent.

Church Groups: In Leipzig Alone Still 20 in Prison

Representatives of human rights groups and church groups gave the information during the service that there are still many people in prison because of their political convictions, still at least 20 in Leipzig alone. In East Berlin according to these sources, court proceedings are still taking place daily against demonstrators who have in the meantime been released.

NATO Conference Ends With 'Nothing New'

LD2610133489 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1223 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Guenter Leuschner commentary]

[Text] A conference of NATO's so-called planning group ends in Portugal today. What is to be planned is the Western alliance's military future. All that we have as yet heard from the conference, if anything, pertains to the past. Here is Guenter Leuschner with the details:

Deliberations were to be held on the future of nuclear armaments, we were told by DPA. The aim of these deliberations was to thwart any re-emergence of intra-NATO squabbling on short-range nuclear forces modernization, an AP report reads. In other words, the question was whether the future would see more or fewer nuclear weapons. An amazing question, given the long-standing U.S.-Soviet negotiations on cutting in half their strategic nuclear forces. After all, cutting in half implies scrapping 50 percent of the stocks there are.

The question is also amazing with regard to short-range nuclear forces. We have for years been eager to discuss their reduction or even total elimination, with NATO now finally willing to do so as well, once a successful conclusion to the Vienna talks on conventional forces reduction is in sight. That is in fact the case, as nobody will doubt. Besides, one cannot possibly discuss more or fewer nuclear weapons, but, if anything, about a reduction by how many of these weapons and about the pace of implementing or the way of adjusting to it.

However, that is not the way it goes with the NATO planning group and least of all with U.S. Defense Secretary Cheney. All he did in Portugal was resort to the well-known lamentations of the Soviet Union still being too strong and the need to steer clear of cuts in defense spending. What is more, he said the development of new

U.S. short-range weapons as successors to the Lance missiles would continue unchanged.

It is like the old card game: Apply delaying and slowing-down tactics, put smokescreens, but under any circumstances avoid submitting a clear-cut program of unambiguous willingness for disarmament. But even those circles will certainly be aware that they have an evermore complicated time of it, that they are constantly losing credibility and that pressure for a change in NATO's nuclear armament is mounting. But instead of vigorously setting out for a change and introducing reforms of what has become outdated, something most readily called for with others, all they are doing, ultimately, is playing for time. Once more the slogan appears to have been to just wait and see and tread carefully. What can be noted as the outcome once again is that, unfortunately, there is nothing new on the Western front.

Krenz Discusses Telephone Talk With Kohl

LD2610220889 East Berlin Television Service in German 1831 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Interview with GDR State Council Egon Krenz by Correspondent (Bert Spraffge) on the "Aktuelle Kamera" Television program—recorded]

[Text] [Spraffge] Comrade Krenz, this morning you used a telephone line that has been ignored for quite some time. What did you tell FRG Chancellor Kohl?

[Krenz] First, FRG Chancellor Kohl dialed the number. It was our first conversation, our first contact. That contact was factual, correct, and constructive. I am happy about it, because when we get along well with each other, it can really be good for the relations between the two German states. In that spirit, the FRG chancellor presented the idea that we maintain regular telephone contacts. And I told him that I agreed. It is better to talk with each other than to talk about each other.

[Spraffge] Are there questions of GDR domestic policy that you broached during the conversation?

[Krenz] Well, I discussed the two addresses that I gave before my party's Central Committee and before the People's Chamber. And I said that I expressly spoke of a change, but that nobody should interpret that incorrectly. A change is not a reversal. To strengthen socialism on German soil—that is our objective. Strong socialism on German soil is part of stability in Europe.

[Spraffge] As I heard, you spoke some 20 minutes with each other. Can we say that the temporary silence in the dialogue, that had been begun jointly between the GDR and the FRG, has come to an end now?

[Krenz] We have extended our hand, because we assume that the stability of the relations between the GDR and the FRG is decisive for stability and security in Europe.

Further on Talks

LD2610213189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1900 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On GDR television today Socialist Unity Party of Germany General Secretary Egon Krenz spoke in favor of regular contacts with Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl. It is better to talk to one another than [talk] about one another, he stated in an interview with "Aktuelle Kamera." [main news program]

Internal political issues in the GDR also played a role in the conversation with Helmut Kohl, Egon Krenz confirmed. He pointed to his speeches at the Ninth Plenary Session of the Central Committee and the People's Chamber in which he intentionally spoke of a change in the GDR which does not, however, mean a turnaround in its development. Strong socialism but stable relations with the FRG too are part of stability in Europe. The GDR stretches out its hand to develop these relations.

Krenz rebutted the statement by a reporter that Krenz had dialled a seldom-used telephone number by saying Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl had dialed that number.

Krenz Meets FRG Communist Party Official

LD2610202689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 154 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Communists in the FRG greet the change introduced by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] in the firm conviction that this policy will have positive effects on the conditions of struggle for the West German Communist Party [DKP]. Ellen Weber, deputy chairperson of the DKP, stated this today in Berlin at a meeting with Egon Krenz, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council. A strong and attractive socialism on German soil signifies secure peace and the consolidation of the positions of the workers' movement.

Beforehand Ellen Weber conveyed to Egon Krenz warm greetings and congratulations from Party Chairman Herbert Mies and the DKP leadership on Krenz's election. Krenz expressed his close links with the FRG Communists. The course of renewal of socialist society in the GDR embarked upon with the ninth session of the Central Committee also opens up new possibilities for further normalizing relations between both German states for the well-being of the people.

Stoph Discusses Cooperation With SRV Official

LD2010205689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1523 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The friendship and solidarity, the cooperation and solidarity with the USSR and the other Socialist countries are firmly included in the GDR's further path. Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council

of Ministers, stressed this today in Berlin to the Vietnamese deputy chairman of the council of ministers, Dong Sy Nguyen.

The current intensified campaign of slander by imperialist forces to destablize socialism had to and could, the interlocutors stressed, be halted through a joint policy of dialogue, aimed at peace and security, with all forces ready for understanding and through the further strengthening of socialism aimed at the well-being of the people.

The Vietnamese politician is in Berlin on the occasion of the 15th session of the GDR-Vietnam Economic Commission.

Cooperation Promoted

BK2010072989 Hanoi VNA in English 0625 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Hanoi VNA October 20— Vietnam and the GDR held a meeting of their joint economic commission in Berlin from Oct 16-18. The head delegates to the meeting were Vietnamese Vice-Premier Dong Si Nguyen, and his GDR counterpart, Horst Soelle.

The meeting focused on cooperation in light industry, in growing and processing rubber, coffee, coconut and pepper, on the employment of more Vietnamese workers in GDR enterprises, and bilateral trade.

Also on this occasion, the Vietnam-GDR Subcommission for Scientific and Technical Cooperation met to review its work in the recent past, and discussed cooperation plan for 1990, and the activities of the 1991-95 period.

A protocol on this matter was signed by Le Quy An and Hans Kurske, presidents of the Vietnamese and the GDR sections to the sub- commission respectively.

Vietnamese Ambassador Ta Huu Canh, on behalf of the State Council, presented the "Friendship" order to Wolfgang Ruben, secretary of the GDR scientific-technical sub-commission to the joint commission, in recognition of his active contributions to the promotion of scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries.

Protocol Signed

AU2410205389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Oct 89 p 3

[ADN report: "Cooperation Between GDR and Vietnam Will Be Expanded"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Wednesday [18 October] the 15th session of the Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation Between the GDR and the SRV was concluded in Berlin with the signing of a protocol. The delegations were headed by Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and Dong Si Nguyen, deputy chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers.

At the center of the discussions was the further deepening and perfection of the economic relations between the two countries in implementing the long-term agreements. It was concurrently noted that the mutual advantageous economic and scientific-technological cooperation is developing steadily and constitutes an important contribution to the building of socialism in the GDR and in the SRV.

There is agreement on continuing the tested cooperation in light industry and cooperation in the cultivation and processing of natural rubber, raw coffee, coconuts, and pepper in Vietnam and, at the same time, expanding cooperation in other fields.

Both sides paid tribute to the results which have been achieved in line with the concluded agreements on the work of Vietnamese working people in GDR enterprises and agreed to continue this cooperation.

The committee noted with satisfaction that foreign trade was considerably increased over the past period. Stipulations were set down to fully implement the mutual deliveries of goods that were agreed on for 1989, including the increased demands on transportation.

The session took place in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and constructive cooperation. The signing of the protocol was attended by Ta Huu Canh, SRV ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the GDR.

Stoph Meets Official

BK2110155989 Hanoi VNA in English 1525 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Hanoi VNA Oct 21—Willi Stoph, Politburo member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received in Berlin yesterday Dong Sy Nguyen, Politburo member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Vietnamese Section in the Vietnam-GDR Intergovernmental Commission for Economic Cooperation, who is here for the commission's 15th session.

Present on this occasion were Horst Soelle, member of the SED Central Committee and vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the GDR Section in the commission, and Ta Huu Canh, Vietnamese ambassador to the GDR.

At the reception, Willi Stoph informed Dong Sy Nguyen of the result of the 9th Plenum of the SED Central Committee and stressed that the GDR always maintains its friendship, solidarity and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries on the way of its continued development.

Both sides highly valued the positive outcomes of their bilateral cooperation and shared the view that Vietnam and the GDR will try their best to find out new forms

and methods aimed at further promoting their economic, scientific and technical cooperation in the spirit of renovation in Vietnam and continuity and renovation in the GDR for the 1991-95 period.

Krenz Meets Van Linh

LD2310204689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1510 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At a top-level talk in Berlin today the GDR and Vietnam advocated the full development of the various possibilities for cooperation between the two countries. During a friendly meeting, the general secretaries of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee [SED CC] and the Vietnamese Communist Party [VCP] Egon Krenz and Nguyen Van Linh, also reaffirmed the rich tradition of friendship and solidarity between the two parties and states.

The deployment of around 60,000 Vietnamese workers in the enterprises of the GDR national economy is a visible example of mutually advantageous cooperation. Egon Krenz expressed the GDR's interest in the continuation of this form of cooperation.

Referring specifically to current domestic political problems faced by the SED, Egon Krenz explained that the GDR is in a very sensitive stage of its development, in which it is important to find solutions to problems that have arisen which would satisfy the requirements of the time and help to strengthen socialism. This calls for the ideas and energy of all the citizens.

Nguyen Van Linh stressed the close links with the SED and the support for the policies decided upon by the ninth session of its CC. Referring to current developments in Vietnam, he noted that the country's Communist Party is striving for a dynamic development of the national economy, stabilization, and gradual improvement of the people's standard of living. The endeavors to find a peaceful settlement in the Cambodia problem and the normalization of relations with China serve to create a peaceful environment for the work of socialist construction. At the same time, Vietnam is thereby making an important contribution to securing peace and to bringing about detente in international relations.

Both politicians were in agreement on the continuation of the exchange of views between the SED and the VCP in appropriate forms and at the required level.

SED Politburo member Herman Axen, amongt others, also took part in the meeting in the CC building.

Summing up his talk with Egon Krenz to journalists, Nguyen Van Linh said that it was excellent discussion. He expressed the conviction that, under the leadership of Egon Krenz, the SED will continue the policies of renewal and continuity and will introduce the necessary reforms to render socialism in the GDR more attractive. He described the meetings and discussions of leading officials in the GDR and their direct talks with the population as an indication of the efforts for increased democracy.

The talk with Ngyuyen Van Linh was rich in content, and the atmosphere was most pleasant, Egon Krenz said. The close friendship and cooperation between the GDR and Vietnam are steeped in tradition, the foundations having been laid by Ho Chi Minh and Wilhelm Pieck. Krenz said Nguyen Van Linh had referred to the fact that the cooperation in the period from 1991 to 1995 must be shaped differently. This means developing cooperation in the way most effective for the two peoples. There was a discussion between the two general secretaries on possibilities for the extension of economic cooperation. It is now necessary for the experts to come together, because factual questions must be decided by experts with the relevant competence.

Egon Krenz expressed his conviction that the exchange of experiences, useful to both parties, begun during Nguyen Van Linh's visit on the 40th anniversary of the GDR, can be continued during an official visit to the GDR by the VCP general secretary.

Questioned on the situation in Southeast Asia, Nguyen Van Linh referred to the fact that Vietnam has withdrawn all of its volunteers from Cambodia. The problem now is to stop all outside military and financial support for the Pol Pot grouping, in order to prevent this regime from once again seizing power. The securing of lasting peace in Cambodia depends upon this.

Debrecen Legislators on 'Harm' of Soviet Airfield

LD2510121789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] [Announcer] At the session of the National Assembly's Defense Committee in Debrecen, the representative of the local Soviet barracks and the Consul were not present when the legislators were discussing the affair of the Soviet military airfield. According to measurements, as a matter of fact, the environmental damage caused by the Soviet planes—in other words the noise level which the population is forced to put up with on account of the sonic booms made by the planes—is 115 times the permitted amount. Istvan Balint reports on the session of the Parliament Committee.

[Balint] The representatives of the Patriotic People's Front described Debrecen as a frontline city [Frontvaros], and he noted that perhaps there is no other airfield in Europe which so overlies the city. He said we should at last take seriously the city's cry for help.

The representatives of the population spoke about the harm done, the constant noise damage, the fact that during the time of the flights even the dogs run trembling into their kennels. According to one of the specialist physicians, the measured noise level is 115 times greater that the permitted acoustic pressure.

Another topic raised was the uncovered sewer, a part of which traverses the Soviet military airfield, and which, on the airfield's pig farm, is used for draining feces and waste. Thus there are some streets in that part of the city where the area around the sewer is infested with hundreds of rats.

The participants in the discussion asked with amazement why the leaders of the airfield or the Soviet Consul, were not present. One of the deputies observed: although today is a flying day, the area of the airfield is quiet. In spite of this, the members of the Defense Committee will visit the sites this afternoon and will meet the population.

Urges Airfield's Closure

LD2510195589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Due to the local Soviet airport and the practicing fighter aircrafts, the noise level, environmental pollution, in Debrecen is 115 times higher than the permitted amount. Therefore, one of the local leaders of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] proposed to the subcommittee of the National Assembly's Defense Committee, which is holding a session in the town, that the rent income received from the Soviet Union should be used to compensate the residents for damages. However, the deputies went even further than this: they stated that the Debrecen airport must be closed down within a year. Istvan Balint reports:

[Balint] Istvan Schmidt, commander of the Hungarian People's Army Air Force, participated as an invited guest in the session. He said that the limiting measures [fewer flights and no flights at night and on weekends] introduced last spring are compulsory; the Soviet pilots must observe these. At the same time, representatives of the population proved, with evidence, that these limits are regularly broken. Major General Schmidt emphasized that the Defense Ministry did all that it could; it can do no more.

The town's representative and National Assembly deputy requested the government to make available the international treaties on the bases of which the airport operates.

Apropos of the recently completed damage assessment by the Hungarian insurance company, the MDF representative proposed that damages should be paid out of the rent revenues which the Soviet Union pays to Hungary for the use of airports.

In the end, the five-strong subcommittee of the National Assembly's Defense Committee decided that:

—the residential complaints are justified;

—the limiting measures have not led to results;

—therefore, they will propose to the National Assembly's Defense Committee that the National Assembly should initiate with the government that the Debrecen-based Soviet military airport should be closed—keeping in view international obligations—within a year.

MAGYAR HIRLAP Comments on GDR Changes

AU2210194589 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 19 Oct 89 p 5

[Article by Berlin Correspondent Laszlo Dorogman and Commentator Laszlo Kulcsar: "Change Over at the Highest Echelons of GDR Leadership—Egon Krenz Replaces Honecker—Two Influential SED Central Committee Secretaries Also Dismissed"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted on factual report by Laszlo Dorogman]

Our analyst writes:

The very same news from Berlin could have arrived the day before yesterday, a week ago, or even a few weeks or months from now. For example, as the final word of the next congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. However, the events have taken a surprising and accelerated turn in that country which, for a long time, has proven to be strongest bastion of post-Stalinist socialism, and which achieved the best results in the planned economy among the CEMA countries. However, the achievements "over polished" by the press and the propaganda on the infallibility of the leadership have come increasingly in conflict with reality. As a result of

the increasingly disturbing shortages in supplies, disregard toward reality, and travel restrictions (GDR citizens can now travel to the CSSR and Poland only after obtaining special permits), the cup is now full: The country has become an overheated boiler. Tens of thousands of GDR citizens left their homeland, and more than 100,000 people have crossed into West Germany so far.

On the recent 40th anniversary of the GDR, Gorbachev also heard the opinion of the tens of thousands of people who were chanting his name together with the word "perestroyka" during his visit in Berlin, and these people asked the CPSU general secretary to help them.

At the beginning of the week, a mass of 120,000 people in Leipzig, and further thousands and tens of thousands of people in Berlin, Dresden, Halle, Plauen, and other towns demanded changes in the GDR. There are not enough policemen in the country to keep so many people under control without the danger of a national tragedy. The masses which, so far, have been disciplined, regarded as incapable of revolt, and intimidated by the methods of the "state organs" have finally forced the first changes, first of all a dialogue. In Berlin, Dresden, and Leipzig, willingly or unwillingly, the mayors started negotiations with the churches, and even with the representatives of the banned opposition and of the youth and workers. The press has also changed its tone, and some politicians actually tried to "descend" to the people. However, can these people be trusted who, for decades, have been preaching about something completely different from reality?

The Central Committee statement of last week on possible changes in the GDR and on cautious readiness for a dialogue came too late. In his festive speech on 7 October, Honecker, who has been the leader of the GDR for 18 years, seems to have deviated from the reality to such an extent that his position became impossible, and that of his party became increasingly difficult. A split took place in the SED Politburo and those who demanded changes gained the upper hand, and rational judgment made them realize that they have to prove their readiness for restructuring and glasnost in the GDR, even by sacrificing the general.

It has been a repeat of something that the GDR could have learned from the example of events that have already taken place in most Warsaw Pact countries: The first man in Berlin could have departed with dignity, a man who naturally also has historical merits for helping his country flourish. The GDR became an internationally recognized and appreciated country during his 18 years in office, and he was the one who signed the Helsinki Final Act and the first GDR president to visit the other Germany. However, the same Erich Honecker and the high functionaries around him refused for an inconceivably long time to recognize and admit that their methods had become obsolete and that they had been wrong in evaluating the situation and their position.

The new period in the GDR did not start yesterday, but with the first mass demonstration for changes and reforms. Only the first chapter of self-criticism accompanied by personnel consequences opened yesterday. It is possible that the new SED general secretary, the 52-year-old Egon Krenz, will only be a transitional figure in the line of new political leading actors. Despite the fact that he is the youngest member of the Politburo, so far Krenz has not proven his readiness for reforms, and he is known much more as a hardliner both at home and abroad. According to diplomatic information, he is a diabetic in need of constant insulin injections....

The first changing of the guard has taken place in Berlin, at the highest position for that matter. We do not have to be fortune tellers to write that other functionaries will also soon depart from the political stage. However, nobody should expect too rapid changes; certain methods which we clearly regard as obsolete and in need of replacement are changing much slower than we had thought they would in this well-organized and disciplined country. However, nothing will change the fact that, hopefully, a favorable historical turn has begun in the GDR. A fundamentally important thing is the fact that the demand for reforms did not degenerate into an irreversible tragedy and did not shake the pillars of security in the sensitive center of Europe.

Pozsgay's Letter to Hungarians in Transcarpathia

AU2410115189 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 18 Oct 89 p 7

["Imre Pozsgay's Letter to Hungarians in Transcarpathia—We Regard Every Hungarian as Part of our Nation"]

[Text] As we have already reported, a festive meeting was held in Beregszasz on 14 October 1989 on the occasion of the unveiling of the bust of Hungarian writer Gyula Illes. On the occasion of the ceremony, Minister of State Imre Pozsgay sent the following letter to the Hungarians in Transcarpathia:

"Dear Citizens of Beregszasz! Esteemed local Hungarians and Hungarian friends who came here from all over! Brotherly peoples of Transcarpathia!

"There is no better occasion for opening a new era in the history of contacts binding Hungarians to Hungarians—contacts that were lively, sometimes denied out of fear, and often allowed to wither away out of neglect—than paying our tribute to the memory of Gyula Illes, who devoted his whole life in this troubled century to the noble task of keeping alive and strengthening Hungarian communities.

"Times are passing when Hungarian on the two sides of the border had to introduce themselves to each other as if the border line also drew an invisible historical gulf between them. A false calm of apathy, the criminal cowardliness trying to make us forget about responsibility, and a painful ignorance were the main causes of

this slowly tragic situation: a lack of awareness and attention that hindered true help in making sure that any nation really lives through its language.

"... 'woe for those who lose their tongue...' wrote Laszlo Fabian Vari recently, a poet well-known not only in Transcarpathia but also in Hungarian literature as a whole, paying his respects precisely to the memory of the man whose spirit and figure this statute represents.

"His cry is deeply true today too, but the extent of the menace has changed considerably. This region was part of the native Hungarian settlement areas where, as Illes put it, only a silently-declamed Petofi or Berzsenyi verse could create a magic circle around a Hungarian, in addition to a prayer murmured in the Hungarian language.

"Our hopes are strengthened by everyday events, namely that here a homeland can now be created not only in the spiritual sphere—Homeland High Above as Illes put it—but this work can start also down here, in today's everyday life. There can no longer be a policy in Hungary which ignores this and does not count on the good will of Ukrainians, Russians, Slovaks, Romanians, and others who live in this area, precisely as being opposed to destructive, dividing, and vulgar passions. Only clean intentions and good will and political openness and practical assistance can have results here too. The renewing Hungary should not forget this, and care for responsibility should take the form of action.

"Therefore, on behalf of the Board of National and Ethnic Minorities of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, we greet those present here with these thoughts, those who now hear our message, and also those far away, Hungarians and not Hungarians, who desire the calm and security of democracy for themselves and for others alike.

"Since the Trianon Dictate, this new advisory body of the Hungarian Government is the first official body that agrees openly and with administrative responsibility to represent the interests of national minorities living in Hungary and of the Hungarian national minority living beyond our borders. The Board has identical principles in approaching the problems of Hungarians living on each side of the borders, because this body regards every Hungarian as part of this nation and feels responsible for each of them. The presidium of this body recently started to ease the sorry and serious burden of decades of problems and pain, and to carry out the most urgent tasks. Through the Hungarians in Transcarpathia, we turn with our first message to all Hungarians in the world.

"I ask the cooperation of those present and we wish that, at long last, it should feel good to be Hungarian anywhere in the world, and here too. Illes' little roots encompassing the entire nation should be allowed to work at long last."

Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, chairman of the Board of National and Ethnic Minorities.

FIDESZ Plans Protest at Romanian Embassy

LD2510215789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Two branches of the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] are organizing a demonstration in front of the Romanian Embassy in Budapest. They expect those who sympathize with persecuted Reformed Church Pastor Laszlo Toekes, and with Magyars living in Romania in general, to come to the embassy at 1900 on Friday [1800 GMT 27 October].

A midnight torch demonstration lasting through the night until dawn has been announced by the two FIDESZ groups to express solidarity.

Nemeth Departs for CSSR To Talk With Adamec

LD2610143289 Budapest MTI in English 1300 GTM 26 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 26 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, has left for a working visit to Bratislava.

He will be holding another round of talks with Ladislav Adamec, Czechoslovak prime minister, on questions concerning the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros barrage project.

Horn Departs for Pact Meeting in Warsaw

LD2510192689 Budapest MTI in English 1718 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 25 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister, Gyula Horn left for Warsaw on Wednesday, to attend the current session of the foreign ministers' committee of the member states of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation.

Pozsgay Arrives in London for Cultural Festival

LD2510172389 Budapest MTI in English 1503 GMT 25 OCT 89

[Text] London, October 25 (MTI)—Hungarian Minister of State Imre Pozsgay arrived in London at noon on Wednesday [25 October] to attend the opening ceremony of a one-month festival in the Barbican Centre called "Magyarok" Britain Salutes Hungary". Mr Pozsgay is the main Hungarian patron of the event.

The minister of state was greeted at Heathrow Airport by Lord Rothermere, chairman of the British Organizing Committee of the Hungarian weeks.

Danish Foreign Minister Arrives for Visit

Meets With Pozsgay

LD2410203789 Budapest MTI in English 1540 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 24 (MTI)—Mr Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, minister of foreign affairs of the Kingdom of Denmark, arrived in Hungary on a two-day visit on Tuesday.

In Budapest, his entourage was joined by Ole Koch, ambassador of Denmark to Hungary.

So far today, Mr Ellemann-Jensen has already held talks with Minister of State Imre Pozsgay in the Parliament building.

Further on Pozsgay Meeting

LD2410230889 Budapest MTI in English 2224 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 24 (MTI)—Imre Pozsgay, minister of state, met on Tuesday, Ulle Elleman-Jensen Danish foreign minister, who extended his government's congratulations for the latest development of the Hungarian democratisation process, the proclamation of the Republic of Hungary. The Danish minister confirmed that events taking place in Hungary are being followed with great interest.

Mr Pozsgay termed it one of the most important characteristics of Hungarian developments, that although events have speeded up recently, it is an encouraging sign that they are progressing on the course anticipated, and the country has not become ungovernable. Mr Pozsgay also stressed that changes in Hungary have a significant effect on the situation in Europe. In his opinion, what we are now witnessing in Hungary is the emergence of a new stage in the continent's postwar development, and the proclamation of the republic of Hungary can be considered as an important stage in this process.

In Mr Pozsgay's opinion, with the ceasing of operation of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] and the creation of the HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party], including the agreements signed at the national roundtable, there is now a realistic chance for the emergence of a strong left-centre political force, which could bring a significant restructuring in Hungarian political life.

Mr Pozsgay spoke of two problems endangering a smooth transformation. It would be extremely dangerous for example if the mounting social problems caused by economic difficulties were made the most of by forces of demagogy. It is encouraging on the other hand that participants of the trilateral coordination discussions categorically reject such methods. The other lurking danger to unfolding democracy is the anti-communist and anti-Soviet manifestations that can be observed from time to time. In the view of the minister of state, an anti-Soviet policy would be nothing less than suicidal from the aspect of our national endeavours.

Concerning Western support, Hungary needs economic support but not in the form of aid. The country would like to see the West implementing a policy of economic opening up for Hungary, to promote the flow of capital and the formation of a Hungarian market economy.

Following the discussions, Mr Jensen attended the opening ceremony of the new building of the Danish Embassy in Budapest.

Received by Horn

LD2510110889 Budapest MTI in English 0913 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 25 (MTI)—Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, minister of foreign affairs of the Kingdom of Denmark who is currently on an unofficial visit to Hungary, held talks with his host, Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, in Budapest on Wednesday.

The meeting was attended by Laszlo Demus, Hungary's ambassador to Denmark, and Ole Koch, Danish ambassador to Hungary.

Discusses Relations With Horn

LD2510193389 Budapest MTI in English 1620 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 25 (MTI)—Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, minister of foreign affairs of the Kingdom of Denmark, currently in Hungary on an unofficial visit, held talks with his host Foreign Minister Gyula Horn on Wednesday. The sides called for the further development of bilateral relations.

Mr Ellemann-Jensen said Denmark was to set up an industrial investment fund to encourage Danish participants of joint ventures. In the near future, a Danish delegation is to visit Hungary to explore investment possibilities. Denmark supports the Hungarian proposal that calls for signing an agreement on cancelling the compulsory visa system where diplomatic and service passports are concerned. Talks on the subject are to start soon.

Both foreign ministers agreed that the success of Hungarian reform endeavours was also in the interest of Europe. Mr Horn told Mr Ellemann-Jensen about the Hungarian position that in order to contribute to the success of Hungarian changes, countries of the Western European community should first provide assistance by cancelling the quotas and customs restrictions still binding on Hungarian trade. Mr Horn also said Hungary would like to study Danish social structure and democratic order.

The two foreign ministers unanimously emphasized the significance of the elimination of conventional weapons in Europe. They stressed that it was the common duty of European states to plan the future of Europe.

The Danish minister of foreign affairs confirmed the Danish invitation of the Hungarian foreign minister. Gyula Horn expressed the desire to make the visit at the earliest possible date.

Meets With Nemeth

LD2510135889 Budapest MTI in English 1225 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 25 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, met Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, Danish foreign minister, on Wednesday.

The meeting was also attended by Foreign Minister Gyula Horn.

Received by Nyers

LD2510194389 Budapest MTI in English 1659 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 25 (MTI)—As reported, Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Party, met Mr Ellemann-Jensen, the Danish minister of foreign affairs, in Budapest on Wednesday. The Danish foreign minister asked him for information on the party's transformation and its role in domestic affairs.

Rezso Nyers said the Hungarian Socialist Party continued to function as a party for a wide group of people, although with a less large membership than the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] enjoyed. Besides the party structure, the composition of Parliament is also under transformation. The HSP currently has some 150 MPs, a 100 person decrease on the former HSWP representation. However, the present parliamentary mandate of the HSP makes it possible for the party to be a safeguard for the peaceful transition.

As far as the international scene is concerned, the HSP wishes to maintain good relations with every political organization, from reform communist parties to socialist and social democratic parties, and intends to develop relations with Socialist International, and the workers' parties of socialist countries. Mr Nyers stressed the significance of good relations with the CPSU, and the Polish and Yugoslav fraternal parties.

According to the HSP president, the Hungarian changes have taken the right direction, and they could be considerably assisted by the West. The Hungarian side would be the most gratified if international financial institutions' were to show a greater tolerance to Hungarian economy. Although the world monetary institutions are not political organizations, and look mostly for economic achievements, they should nonetheless take it into account that the changes in Hungary are of historical importance and deserve their aid. Mr Nyers mentioned the example of the International Monetary Fund. Hungary expects a more generous attitude from the IMF, and would like to sign an agreement on a three-year schedule of stand-by loans.

After concluding his two-day unofficial Hungarian visit, Uffe Ellemann-Jensen left Hungary on Wednesday afternoon.

Communique Issued on Visit

LD2510201489 Budapest MTI in English 1916 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 25 (MTI)—A communique was forwarded to MTI, issued by the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the visit by Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, Danish minister of foreign affairs, October 24-25.

The communique pointed out that Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn gave a briefing to his Danish counterpart on the latest significant developments in Hungary's transmition. Mr Horn also detailed the fundamental laws passed during the last parliamentary session, ensuring the country's advance on the road to a democratic constitutional state and the catching up with Europe.

Mr Horn expressed his appreciation for the specific plans drawn up by Denmark in cooperation with other developed countries, designed to help Hungary overcome its grave economic problems. Mr Horn emphasized that for the implementation of a programme of radical economic transformation and the support of developed countries is indispensable. [sentence as received] He also spoke of the significance of the time factor as the postponement of action could endanger the fate of the whole process of East European reforms.

Mr Jensen informed his hosts on the 40 million dollar budget to be created by his government, for setting up joint ventures designed to promote industrial restructuring in Hungary, and the introduction of Danish expertise on company management, production organisation and modern technology.

Mr Horn stressed the importance of the full economic liberalisation between the two countries and the granting of tariff concessions.

Mr Jensen reiterated his country's readiness to start consular discussion on the abolishing of the practice of compulsory visas for holders of diplomatic and service passports.

The Danish minister of foreign affairs expressed optimism when assessing the achievements and prospects of the entire European process, attaching significance to the reaching of a political agreement in 1990 at the Vienna disarmament talks on conventional armaments. An agreement was reached at the discussions on establishing continuous cooperation links in order to contribute to the success of the human rights conference, to be held in Copenhagen in June next year.

At the end of his visit to Hungary, the Danish minister laid a wreath on the tomb of Imre Nagy.

Karpati Discusses Plans To Cut Military

LD2610140889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Hungary is planning to reduce its Armed Forces but will continue to remain a member of the Warsaw Pact. This was stressed by Ferenc Karpati, minister of defense, in a statement to the Paris paper LE FIGARO. Ferenc Karpati pointed out that in the question of neutrality one must start out not from aspirations but from reality. He stated: Democratization does not mean that Hungary's foreign policy direction will change.

HSP Officials on MSZMP Dissolution, Assets

LD2110092689 Budapest MTI in English 2008 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 20 (MTI)—The Presidium of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] calls on the members and organizations of the party to commemorate the events that took place 33 years ago, the casualties on both sides of the barricades, the victims of 1956 in the spirit of the position approved at the congress. It proposes to declare October 23 as a day of national commemoration—stresses the position of the Hungarian Socialist Party on national reconciliation, which was approved by the party's presidium at its session on Friday.

Following the session, Ferenc Kosa and Csaba Vass, members of the Presidium, held an international press conference. They said the HSP is re-evaluating the historical events, and in this process it has reached the point of proposing October 23 as a day of national commemoration.

Reacting to the remarks which doubt the dissolution of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], the Presidium members said that the HSWP has been discontinued from the legal point of view. If its former members wish to determine the HSWP as their party, this may be possible if they place an adjective in front of the name, and again join the party. Adding to this, the Presidium members said: Setting up a party that stands to the left of the HSP, under the name of new HSWP or another name, would be welcome. In this case, party assets would be divided as the successor party does not wish to exclude anyone from the material assets.

Former MSZMP Members Urged To Join HSP

LD2210224589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 22 Oct 89

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Party's People's Democratic Platform has called on those former Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] members who are committed to the reforms to become members of the new party. They ask those MSZMP members who are in sympathy to join their platform. The members of the People's Democratic Platform consider as their chief task the organization of the party. They wish to cooperate with other platforms and sections and they deem necessary that the National Board, which would convey the will of the party membership, should come into existence as soon as possible.

Hungarian Workers Party Formed in Bekescsaba

LD2410153289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] The Hungarian Workers' Party [Magyar Munkaspart] [HWP] has been formed in Bekescsaba. Since the 14th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] erased the concept of workers from its name, the founders wish to enter into a new alliance to represent and safeguard their interests. The HWP is a class-party. In its program, it sets as an objective the fostering of workers' soldiarity, it rejects unemployment, and it considers itself to be the MSZMP's heir in the movement. It invites manual and white-collar workers from all spheres, former members of the armed forces, and the Workers Guard to join its ranks. They will provide a place in their ranks for the people who are proud of their workers' character, who want for themselves a livelihood worthy of a man, on the basis of decently done work and not charity donations from other countries.

The HWP professes as its own the results of the past 40 years and the progressive ideals of the communist-workers' movement. It disassociates itself from all principles whose objective is a restoration of the capitalist economic order. It wants workers' self-management, and also to partake in production as well as in the practice of distribution and exercising power. The HWP in Bekescsaba is ready for a dialogue with every left wing party which is free of extremes.

Revived MSZMP Claims 20,000 Members

LD2510215889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] The organizers of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] have stated that their party has some 20,000 members perhaps. Kati Horvath reports from their press briefing.

[Horvath] [passage omitted] The five speakers asserted that they were the true organizational committee of the MSZMP. We formed the committee last week. We are 13 strong. The MSZMP exists although it has no leaders or so-called forces moving things from behind the scenes. Ervin Szuecs, who is one of the organizers—and a university lecturer—clarified this by saying that they were not acting under the commission of Karoly Grosz, Janos Berecz, or lets say, Robert Ribanszki. He added that there are many kinds of initiatives but only one MSZMP exists. According to his knowledge it has some 20,000 members at present.

We 13 of us felt that in Hungary today there is a need for the MSZMP because no such marked political force

exists which would represent the interests of workers and peasants. We have called on the MSZMP members to keep the basic organizations together.

Naturally we would like a renewed MSZMP; which rejects the crimes of the past 40 years, dissociates itself from the mistakes and prevents them recurring. We would like a united MSZMP for the elections.

Szuecs did not join the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] because the latter has exiled the term communism. He feels that people joined the MSZP who can be characterized by the old saying: The true communist is the one who unbendingly follows all bends produced by the party.

HSP Claims To Be Sole Successor of MSZMP

LD2510220289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] Presidium has issued a stance, according to which the HSP is the sole legal successor of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]. No party breakup had occured at the congress because even the delegates left in a minority took cognizance of the majority decision and participated in the subsequent work of the congress. Therefore no kind of post facto allusion can create a basis—apart from the MSZMP [as heard]—for anybody to proclaim a legal continuity and identity with the pre-congress MSZMP.

The HSP Presidium resolutely states that all initiatives which aim at the continued survival of the MSZMP are illegal [jogszeruetlen] and a cheat [megtevesztes]. By the way, the Presidium also considers illegal the establishment of a new organization under the name of MSZMP. For the law on assembly rules that the names of new organizations must differ from that of those already registered previously.

The HSP Presidium stance finally notes that the full-time office holders of the HSP who confirmed their membership in the HSP before 20 October have a valid authorization to hold their post until the creation of new bodies.

Pozsgay Interviewed on New Party, Congress

AU2410082789 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 14 Oct 89 p 5

[Interview with Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, member of the Presidium of the HSP, by Gabor Toth: "Europe Is the Standard—Imre Pozsgay on the New Party, Congress Reverberations, and the Purity of the Socialist Idea"—date and place not given]

[Text] We lived through fateful days in Hungary over the last weekend. "Silent revolution," "political earthquake," "dramatic turn," "historic birthday," and "unparalleled victory"—these and similar eye-catching phrases appeared on the front pages of the world press in connection with Hungary; even the most restrained journalists in Paris, Brussels, and Tokyo announced their news by saying that Budapest has begun to write the history of Eastern Europe anew.

Anew—but how? How did the players retire at dawn on 10 October, and how did they wake up and start work after the "100-hour battle," the "struggle of platforms" and the "new October revolution?" And what next? We asked Imre Pozsgay, the leading figure of the sweeping reform wing, to answer these questions; the world declares him a winner today, except for the silent part of the world.

[Toth] We journalists often exaggerate when seeking attributes to express our excitement. We have proven this again: There was hardly a newspaper or radio reporter who did not use the word "historic" in connection with some moments and decisions of the congress. Do you have the same opinion? Have we indeed carried out a historic deed? Is this formulation not exaggerated?

[Pozsgay] It is hard to pronounce such weighty words, because everyone who lived through this congress can be biased and under the spell of unilateral experiences. However, following the events and seeing the reaction of those saying that this weekend was really of historical importance. I am not aware of any other example in history when, admitting the need for cooperation with the nation, a governing party has abolished itself and initiated the creation of a new party on the basis of a totally different program and statute, and in doing so has not been forced by an uprising, street demonstrations, or by the sound of firearms, but by its own reform forces.

Reactions—One Way or Another

[Toth] Let us mention the reactions separately. Does it not disturb the new party and its leaders that the international evaluations of these days and events are so extreme? One half of the world mentions us with joy and almost with admiration, while the other half, our allies, maintain a profound silence about the events or even make a sour face. Extremes also appear within the same country: Gorbachev was the first to send a telegram on Monday evening [9 October], but at a press conference in Moscow on 10 October the foreign affairs spokesman rejected any question concerning us. To say nothing about the others. In the past, we would have been worried about such a reaction....

[Pozsgay] There are extremes, indeed. Of course, one does not have to be alarmed, but one should remain realistic. While I welcome the understanding reactions, particularly those coming from the West, I am not surprised at the great reservations on the part of our allies. The West expected something: the restoration of Europe, of the idea of European quality. The West wanted an answer to the question of whether, under our political conditions, we had succeeded in reaching a path that would lead to catching up and modernization, and whether, from a political viewpoint, we had succeeded in creating democracy and a constitutional statehood. On the other hand, if they take a stand on the things that

have occurred in the Hungarian party and on the importance of this congress, our allies will essentially find an answer their own problems too. That is: They will find an answer or not. And I understand that this is difficult. This is extremely difficult, and we should separately analyze the reasons in each country. Perhaps the main reason for this is that the form of socialism which we have lived through, and which we call state-socialism or dictatorial socialism, has failed everywhere in this part of the world, and has proven to be a deadend street. Not every country has yet produced the power to acknowledge this and initiate the necessary changes.

[Toth] Allow me to return to some episodes in the congress. This 4-day event has been characterized in a variety of ways, even during the congress: The most innocent teasing was the claim that it was a "political show." One thing is certain: This congress was free of protocol and liturgy, all those things that wore the previous congresses down. What was it like to live through this from within, as a participant in the events?

[Pozsgay] I admit that, in many respects, this congress was new and unusual. This derives primarily from the fact that its "history" did not start on the opening day; preparations have been going on since May 1988. Contrary to the widespread expectations, including my own belief, last year's Whitsun did not bring a change, it only represented the beginning of something. The decisionmakers at the time were still living under the illusion that it is enough to renew the political relations of the party-state and the state-party, and to reform the existing system. However, it soon became clear that this is not enough. However, it is the undisputable achievement of the party conference in May 1988 that, starting with the replacement of the old leading guard and gaining confidence through the mutual experiences of the delegates, we found that we can say things that had previously been taboo. It also became clear that the internal tension is greater than the individual party organizations and party members can bear. All this turned into open words and demands, and, thanks to the reform forces, this tone increased by the time of the congress. And this congress brought an unparalleled ferment: The alliance, activity, and swarming of platforms, separate positions, and trends did indeed surprise many people, particularly those who imagined this congress in the old and usual way.

I rather admire the fact that we succeeded in producing such vitality after 40 years of suppressed feelings! A spirit of work and will permeated the very corridors at the congress, avoiding any semblance of ceremony, except for some festive moments. Anyone who expected something else had to be disappointed. This time, the events really did not trickle on in the old ways, on the basis of bolshevik organizational principles whereby the apparatus had distributed all the roles and placed the icons in the meeting hall well in advance, and whereby this apparatus precisely regulated the forms and manifestations, including the elections. All this was no longer present in this congress. The preparation for the congress was aimed precisely at avoiding such things!

The MSZMP Has Ceased To Exist

[Toth] Obviously, many people interpreted this differently. Rumors have it that one of the delegates voted through the mail (!); he sent a postcard to express his disapproval and his rejection of the role of an extra. Others also claimed that the leading politicians argued, debated, and negotiated too much.

[Pozsgay] Let us not be bashful: There was agitation in all directions. Agitation came from certain orthodox and sectarian elements, claiming that "they are being disregarded and are playing the role of extras." However, there was no need for a postcard to raise this issue. There were deputies who openly protested against the things they did not like by speaking directly into the microphone. This is the correct way. The fact that some of these offended people had been silent over the past 40 years and had acted like extras in the unanimous decisions and the 99-percent achievements is another matter; now we know where all this has led. There was too much bargaining? There was no more bargaining than is natural on such important decisions. I am not surprised that this has irritated the delegates. However, congressional work in which fateful documents or even the leadership comprise the personal ideas of 1,200 people is inconceivable. Everywhere in the world where political trends exist these things emerge during preliminary debates and constant bargaining, through lobbying and other forms, by representing the public will.

[Toth] Well, this is exactly what many people claimed. They went as far as to question the legitimacy of the congress: Did the plenum, 1,200 delegates, have the right to "abolish" the MSZMP? Or was it not abolished? I must also ask this basic question, because some statements confused us....

[Pozsgay] I know, this is the question from disappointed people, and a false question at that! It is also part of the congress history that the whole country had the opportunity to learn the draft program declaration and the draft statute weeks and even months in advance. More than that. A real stock exchange of programs emerged among the various trends, complete with regular bargaining, and a hierarchic "screening test" known from previous congresses was no longer applied, namely, when the grumbling and critical tones in the basic party organizations did not affect the preparations because, through the upward and streamlined system of deputies, the apparatus successfully channeled the passions and the radical observations. By the time it reached the county level, disatisfaction was hardly felt, and the congress "automatically" shifted into full loyalty and ceremony. In the political atmosphere of the congress, any manifestation contrary to the liturgy and preparation was regarded as a scandal, and caused tensions rather than a feeling of release. Any observation was considered to be recalcitrant, and was accompanied by punishment, self-reproach, or at least by the feeling that "I have now upset this beautiful order." I think nobody had this feeling at this congress! The legitimacy of this

congress derives precisely from the fact that the members' conservatism essentially remained at home, but the demand for change was present in an overwhelming majority. In other words, the proportion has changed compared with previous times, and this congress has really been the most legitimate and legal one in the history of this party, a congress where, under completely legal conditions, the delegates agreed to transform the MSZMP into a new party, voted for the program of this new party, adopted its statute, and elected its leadership. With this, the MSZMP ceased to exist, and its history ended! Naturally, other parties can still emerge from the former MSZMP members. I would not be surprised if they set up a communist party. It is a real fact, and the question is legitimate to this affect, that the MSZMP had a strong conservative and orthodox wing. These people do not have a home of their own today. While they are factors and actors in our political life, they also have the right and will probably also have the opportunity to express their will in an independent party of their own.

Have There Been Tensions?

[Toth] The whole country could see on television how the delegates voted you down. One time for certain, on the issue of withdrawing from working places. But Miklos Nemeth and Gyula Horn were also voted down. Over what else did you have differences of opinion with Rezso Nyers? On what issues do you still have such a difference of opinion? I ask this question because we are not aware of these things. When the congress decided to listen to the four of you after Ivan Vitanyi's proposal to "please take sides," the delegates also asked to close the doors and the windows.... We still failed to learn to trust publicity. Now, I do not want to mention the case of the Japanese daily YOMIURI SHIMBUN, the spokesmen have a hard time explaining things.

[Pozsgay] I will gladly answer this question, although there is slight exaggeration here. I will say in advance that I cannot fulfill the expectations on this issue. I declare that there was no such cardinal confrontation and breaking point as many people think. Yes, we did argue, for example on the issue of withdrawing from workplaces, but we did not think or feel for a moment that this could be a breaking point between us. Then, we bargained and argued about the list. However, this was rather a struggle of the platforms, over what the leadership should be like, how homogeneous it should be, and the extent to which each list expresses the real need for reforms.

Those who formed alliances in the platforms wanted to see their representatives in the leadership. It is a natural part of this phase of negotiations that breaking points also emerged here. These were the issues in the process of political bargaining which dragged on and made the impression of being contradictions. They occasionally caused alarm in the congress, primarily concern that something might break, while most delegates wanted to avoid that, particularly a break among the reformers. As for the meeting behind closed doors, this was demanded by the congress, and not by "the four," and not out of an evil intention, but out of momentary concern. Besides, an "open window" would not have worried me, and I continue to believe in publicity, and I would have answered the questions in front of all the country.

[Toth] It is positive and important that the congress thoroughly analyzed the national presidium. However, you must be aware that there are too many "newly turned" reformers and democrats moving around the moon?

[Pozsgay] This is obvious, and we see that. The establishment of a new party is accompanied by the possibility that people also get into the HSP who are not worthy of this membership. However, I am not aware of the existence of any democratic country in which some kind of judge would decide on who belongs and who does not belong to a party. In addition, we want to be an open party, and not an ideological party, and we are for canvassing of new members. This includes people who have never yet been committed to any political party. At the same time, the rules of bourgeois democracy would simply not tolerate a rejection of those who where members of our predecessor party, the MSZMP. Life, everyday actions, and affiliation to the party program and the party statute should decide on who is suitable to be member of this party and who is not. We also accepted, and this is true, that the members of this party are not responsible for the crimes committed in the past 40 years. The MSZMP members were helpless and forced out of politics to the same extent as the great majority of our society; at most, they lived with the illusion that they were doing something important with the sham-activity that connected them with this party. Those who are in this party and will be members of the new party can move around with their heads erect and without a guilty conscience, and they do not have to feel ashamed for the past 40 years, and they do not have to slink out of Hungarian public life, because they are not to be blamed. The structure, the Stalinist model is to be blamed, which made subordinates out of the entire nation. This is now a new party: with European norms, European organization, and European standards.

Not Only the Name-Plate

[Toth] This is an attractive start, but it will be a difficult one because our generation is suspicious. And our generation has a reason for being suspicious. The opposition is active, and merciless; the most frequent "evaluation" continues to be the one claiming that the communists have only repainted their name-plate....

[Pozsgay] The opposition would not be an opposition if it reacted differently. I am not surprised at this. I only reject one thing: If they lie and say that nothing has happened. I consider this to be unethical! If they belittle the deed that the reform forces achieved while also considering the nation's interests, and the things that this party carried out even by subordinating its strict party interests. On this, some people declare that this congress did not have a single word to say to society in all its 4 days.... I beg your pardon, but even if it had only uttered

the word on limiting its own power and withdrawing from the framework of party-state, this would already be worthy of attention. Of course, one is allowed to argue. But, for this, one has to take the trouble to read the program that this congress formulated with painstaking work. Or one should look up the list of the names that appear in the new presidium. I do not find it accidental that the prominent representatives of the Socialist International have already signalled that they regard all this as a basis for establishing new contacts between the HSP and the Socialist International. In other words, we did not just repaint our name-plate! Consider this: This party has accepted the results achieved at the political coordination talks, and offered to continue these negotiations. This party has taken the necessary steps concerning party property and the workers' militia, these being the most critical points that, so far, have been open to attack. This party has taken initiatives on all these issues. The party has advanced on the road leading to national rapprochement concerning the date 23 October. In other words, the party has begun to implement fundamental changes in the nature of power, including the most important thing: this power is open to the people, anyone can seize it, and political struggle and political competition will decide on whom the people give this power to.

[Toth] Let us admit that there is great confusion and agony in society today; the entire country is interpreting things and is debating. Many people claim that everything depends on whether there will be genuine leaders on all levels, and whether we succeed in making society accept that a change has taken place here.

[Pozsgay] One does not feel this change only if one does not want to. Obviously, the program contains a political rapprochement and compromise; however, undeniably, this program has a totally different intention than the previous one. This program does not include the teachings of the leading role of the party, nor the law on the dictatorship of the proletariat, a law once carved in stone. The same is true of the theory and organizational principle of democratic centralism, as well as the unilateral commitment to a system of ownership that, in reality, is state-administration property, rather than social property. Anyone who can come up with a greater change than this, or who can realistically imagine a greater change than this, is not living in this part of the world, and in this part of Europe.

Stress on Democracy

[Toth] Obviously, society's judgment will emerge in the elections. Two weeks ago, in an article published in this same paper, MAGYAR NEMZET, and which stirred a great reaction, Istvan Schlett insisted that, here and now, after 40 years such as these, a party cannot become a ruling party in Hungary with the slogan "democratic socialism." What is your opinion about this?

[Pozsgay] Unfortunately, the leftist ideal and the idea of socialism have become synonymous with Stalinism, and that is why they have become so discredited. These ideas were identified with the concept that was brought by the Stalinism of the twenties and thirties, a concept that is still living. However, anyone who analyzes European development in the past 150 years knows exactly that the delight of prosperity, the concept of a welfare state, the classic form of multiparty system, all these were products of socialist ideas and left-wing movements. However, the people who live in this part of Europe experienced socialism as an alien and foreign state-concept they were forced into, a system that legitimated a power they did not like and which turned them into subordinates. Given these precedents, it is no wonder that every socialist or left-wing idea and political movement is temporarily forced to bear this disadvantage in Hungary. That is why I must clearly state that I do not consider the orthodox Stalinist line in the political sense of the word to be socialism or a left-wing movement at all. On the contrary: I identify this line with orthodoxy and the reactionary movement. The real left-wing movement and socialism should drop this burden as soon as possible. We must start reorganizing society in the spirit of real socialism, which means that, if we are talking here about a democratic socialism now, the stress is on democracy, and the subsequent freedom: on sovereign citizens capable of self-determination, and on institutions created by these citizens. Socialism is not some kind of construction goal for which we must constantly strive and occasionally report on the progress to the investors, but a real movement in which we daily exceed critically the state we have already achieved; and quoting Marx's idea: socialism is not an altar-piece which we must strive to achieve by all means, but something that either emerges or does not. This depends on human and social achievements! Freedom is a social preparation in which one is also allowed to think that there should be no socialism, and my concept of freedom also includes this.

[Toth] You received big cheers, your platform won, and you were elected into the National Presidium; your greatest achievement is that you are also the presidential nominee of the new party. However, rivals are already emerging too. How do you read their statements?

[Pozsgay] So far, I have not had much opportunity to do that. In any case, it is a great honor for me to be a presidential nominee. At the same time, I also know that the road leading to this position is very bumpy, and I would not like to travel this road without being judged, or without competitors. I will respect those who are worthy adversaries, and I will also respect the people even if it they elect somebody else from among these partners, and not me. However, irrespective of which party nominates a candidate, the essential thing is that Hungary should have an honest president worthy of respect and embodying the virtues of a statesman, and the decision should not be made by some small men who do things on the spur of the moment. Who should be the president? I leave that with full confidence to the wisdom of the people.

* Hankiss Analyzes MDF/SZDSZ Dichotomy

90EC0052a Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG in Hungarian 14 Oct 89 pp 73-74

[Article by Elemer Hankiss, sociologist: "Analysis of Differences in the Opposition; Emotional Words;" first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] What separates and what unites the Opposition Roundtable Organizations? The author, a sociologist, analyzes this issue. He argues in favor of clarifying and settling disputes in open debate, and against passion prevailing within the opposition.

Politics and politicians must take into consideration fears, passions, suspicions, and hatred that exist in society. Within certain limitations a politician may build upon these factors, even if the European code of political morality prohibits the incitement of such emotions and passions. And indeed, generally speaking, politicians do build upon these factors. But a politician would be making a grave mistake if he himself became a captive of fear and hatred, and if he were influenced by these in his political activity.

Our history is not free from politics tormented and directed by such fears and hatred. And we are not free from it today either. We are laboring to construct a new and better world, to establish a tolerant society free of fear. We are doing so with fear, hatred, and passion in our hearts, aimed at each other.

Great damage is, and can be, inflicted by Hungarian politicians who continue to be captives of the paranoia that has evolved, and is in the process of evolving; politicians, who from the outset presume malice, bias, hidden aggression, prejudice, and an unbridled ambition for power on the part of the other side; and who react to everything with malice, bias, prejudice, aggression, and a multiplying ambition for power. They do so instead of soberly analyzing the interests, commitments, presumed intentions, and chances of their opponents—and potential allies—and formulating their own policies by taking these factors in consideration.

All of this, of course, would not cease, but instead would render manageable conflicts which are unmanageable at the level of passion and hatred. Let me refer to one example. It does not pertain to the tense differences between society and those in power. In this regard passions are very understandable after 40 years of oppression and humiliation. I am referring to the emotional and passionate tension evolving within the opposition. More accurately stated, I am referring to the debate over the establishment of the office of the president of the republic. It has resulted in a rift within the Opposition Roundtable, even if that rift is not final and complete.

In the following I will attempt to retrieve from the confusion of passion and rhetorical turns, and to gather from more staid writings, some sober arguments and counterarguments on the basis of which it will be possible to evaluate what the appropriate decision should have been, and what should be done in the future. I am trying to summarize the viewpoints of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] and the Association of Young Democrats [FIDESZ], the organization which did not sign the agreement, on the one hand, and the viewpoints of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] and the four other organizations which signed the agreement, on the other. I will do so to the extent that I am able through available written materials and information conveyed verbally.

Everything for Nothing?

In the SZDSZ view, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] did not yield on any substantive issue, and it was a mistake to accept the Communist proposal to elect a president of the republic in exchange for minor concessions. The MSZMP is not willing to remove itself from the workplace, it is not willing to liquidate the Workers Guard, it is not willing to surrender its overwhelming power in mass communications and its monopolies, and it uses its immense, 10-billion-forint property to conceal, preserve, and salvage its power. As a result of all this, conditions for free elections in Hungary did not come about. And since the trilateral negotiations were called into being to prepare for elections in the name of a peaceful transition, no agreement should have been reached for the time being.

"We Signed a Good Agreement"

Considering the vantage points of the opposition and of Hungarian society, on balance the agreement is clearly positive. It was possible to make the MSZMP accept a new legislative proposal concerning elections. It enables free elections in Hungary for the first time in 40 years, provided that the National Assembly adopts the proposal. It was possible to persuade the MSZMP to surrender the fundamental principles of the bolshevik, state-socialist constitution of 1948, and to accept a return to the basic principles of the 1946 bourgeois constitution. It was possible to reach an agreement concerning an amendment to the Law on Associations which enables the free functioning of political parties and the essential establishment of a multiparty system. It was possible to agree upon amendments to the Criminal Code of Laws and to the Code of Criminal Procedure which bar arbitrary police and prosecutorial action, and which ensure the personal and political rights of citizens in the course of the election campaign. This assurance comes close to Western European standards. The MDF did not agree upon anything with the MSZMP concerning party organizations at the workplace, the Workers Guard, MSZMP property, and the mass communication, but ascertained by way of a statement that further negotiations must be conducted on these subjects.

Bonapartism

There are several reasons why the SZDSZ opposes the method and timing of the election of the president of the republic. First, if the president is elected now, before the parliamentary election, the successful campaign of the

only existing candidate—assuming that the only candidate having the greatest chance to win, Imre Pozsgay, would win—would boost the MSZMP parliamentary election campaign, and would change—distort—election results in favor of the MSZMP. Not to mention the fact that a president of the republic also has other means available to influence the outcome of elections. On the other hand, if the president is elected on the basis of a popular referendum, this choice expressed directly by the people would convey too much legitimacy to the president, and would place him above Parliament, which exercises its power indirectly, thus opening the door to the evolution of a presidential political system, or even to a Bonapartist coup d'etat. This would render the establishment of a European type of democracy impossible for a long time to come. The traditions of Hungarian political culture, and the people, national, populist, middle-of-the-road outlook of the so-called "national center" parties, would increase the chances of the evolution of such a course of development. Third, only the new Parliament will have authority to establish such an important institution, or even to recommend the establishment of such an institution.

Parliamentarism

The MDF has a different view of the chances. In its view the opposition and Hungarian society are taking a small risk if they elect a president early on. Moreover, they may gain more than they would lose. That is, the MSZMP candidate has little chance of winning the election for president. This is because:

(a) the opposition succeeded in setting high standards, and in tying the election to criteria that are difficult to comply with. That is, the legislative proposal provides that a candidate having acquired an absolute majority of the votes is the winner, and even then only if at least two-thirds of the eligible voters cast their ballots. This will present a difficult challenge even to a nationally known, popular politician.

(b) The MSZMP nominated Imre Pozsgay for the post, and he may have a chance of winning; although the fact that he accepted membership on the MSZMP presidium may hurt his popularity.

In addition, the party which comes about after the MSZMP congress, if it stays unified, will not necessarily continue to support Pozsgay's candidacy; by no means could Pozsgay count on the actual support of the conservative and centrist factions of the MSZMP. Pozsgay may not even be able to run if the party falls into two or three pieces, because he would have to organize his own reform-socialist party. And if a few serious opposition candidates run—for which the the probability already exists today—none of the candidates would have a chance of enlisting the support of an absolute majority. In this case the authority to elect a president would be passed on to the new National Assembly, and its choice would be accepted by the entire opposition. In other words, the MSZMP candidate has little chance of winning. And if he loses, he will worsen rather then improve his party's chances at the parliamentary elections.

(c) MDF experts believe that the Bonapartist parallel has no foundation in history. The proposed constitutional change lays foundations not for a presidential, but for a parliamentary system, within which the scope of presidential power is small in the absence of parliamentary approval or concurrence by the prime minister.

(d) Parties of the "national center" have committed themselves to a European type democracy as did the SZDSZ. The only difference pertains to the path by which this goal can be achieved in the fastest and most secure way.

Now or Never

If I understand their statements correctly, SZDSZ experts feel that at present there is a historically unique opportunity to liquidate the communist state-socialist system, and to establish a Western European type democracy and market economy. The Communist Party is on the defensive; it is now that its power can and must be broken. We are consistent in adhering to our principles, because even within the favorable international situation, this consistency will sooner or later prompt the party to surrender its positions. Time as well as internal and external processes are on our side; it makes no sense to reach an early and bad compromise. It is becoming increasingly difficult to govern the country, the debt burden is becoming increasingly unbearable, the unity of the party is increasingly disintegrating, and the country is becoming increasingly dependent on the West. Consequently, an opportunity for the establishment of a pure bourgeois democracy is gradually arising.

"Real-politik"

On the other side, the MDF has a fundamentally different view of the situation. They believe that the reform movement may run out of time. The fate of Gorbachev and of perestroyka is uncertain; the favorable international situation may also change; the threat of economic bankruptcy demands quick action, a legitimate parliament, and a strong government; the crop must be collected when clouds gather; and existing achievements must be protected, if needed even at the price of compromise. Histories of the smallest countries prove that successful development is based on a series of successful compromises. Politics is not a stationary, but a mobile war. We may achieve tomorrow what we do not accomplish today, as long as we are able to bring ourselves into a relatively favorable position today. Emotionally and morally, of course, we all would like to see an immediate, permanent end to communist rule. But it raises concerns that if we push them against the wall, their conservative forces will become entrenched and will bar any change for long years to come. On the other hand, if we are willing to accept them as negotiating partners, we will strengthen the reformists among them, and we will be

able to enhance the evolution of a European type socialist or social democratic party, which supposedly would have a place in the evolving democratic political system. And so on.

So here we have part of the arguments and counterarguments openly or not openly stated by the opposing parties. Which side is correct? Did the signatories to the agreement give away the opportunity to establish democracy for the minister president's chair, or as the scriveners of the yellow press put it, for a pottage of lentils? Or is it the opposite—did they soberly and with a sense of responsibility take advantage of the opportunity to reach an agreement favorable from the standpoint of society, one that significantly restricts communist power and opens the door for democratic development? Was this a good or bad tactical step? Was this an error or a clever move on the part of the signatories to agree to the direct and early election of the president of the republic? Will the MSZMP (or one of its successors) benefit as a result, or did the MSZMP walk into a cleverly set trap, and will it suffer even more in the elections? Who is correct, those who believe that it is possible and that one should fight for the immediate establishment of a pure bourgeois democracy without compromises, or those who feel that the goal can be securely achieved if the country proceeds gradually but rapidly toward democracy while reaching sober compromises with democratically inclined, liberal groups of those who are or were in power?

The actual differences—not those based on emotions or passion—in part stem from differences in the way the situation, the things to be done, and the other side's strategy are assessed. These differences can be managed easily, and may be partially resolved in the atmosphere of staid and sober negotiations. Nevertheless, some real and hard differences of interest may and will be strained between the two sides, and these cannot be resolved by presenting arguments only. But one must not conceal these differences and grumble, one need not hate the other for these differences, instead an effort must be made to reveal these differences openly, especially because with a majority of the differences it will turn out that the differences are not really strained between the two sides.

Nowadays one of the greatest dilemmas and weaknesses of our political life is that the emerging political parties do not yet follow, do not correspond to the actual stratification of societal interests. What one usually hears in response to this is that the great, modern Western European parties are no longer class parties either, instead they are people's parties tied together loosely, speaking to a multitude of social groups. But let us not forget that in Western societies a multitude of interest groups, institutions, associations, and movements reinforce and coordinate the multitude of economic and social interests. These institutions and organizations do not exist, or are still too weak in Hungary, and therefore representation of part of these interests becomes the parties' job. The staid and sober revelation of this large variety of social and conflicting interests would certainly diminish the perceived or actual, but presently passionate, atmosphere of overstated and distorted conflicts of interest between the two camps of the opposition. Such revelation would also decrease the force of biases and passions. And it would improve the chances of democracy here, in this God-forsaken place in the area of the Danube and the Tisza.

Government Discusses 1956 Commemoration

LD2410221289 Budapest MTI in English 2109 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 24 (MTI)—At its Tuesday session, members of the government discussed the motion on the changing of the tax system beginning 1990. A decision was reached for presenting to Parliament their related proposal.

A report was heard on the discussions between Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth and the prime minister of the Baden-Wurttemberg Province of the FRG, Lothar Spath, and the official visit by Foreign Ministry Gyula Horn to Norway and Sweden.

Ministers also discussed the proclamation of the Republic of Hungary and the commemoration of the 1956 popular uprising.

The government welcomes the proclamation of the Republic of Hungary, and considers it an important step in the process of creating a democratic constitutional state.

Assessing the events held in commemoration of the 1956 popular uprising, it was established by the Council of Ministers that they were held in a fitting atmosphere, with discipline and responsibility. It was however held regrettable that the commemoration of the struggle against Stalinism was used by some to incite anti-Soviet sentiments. The government wishes to distance itself from these manifestations, with the conviction that its opinion is shared by the majority of the Hungarian society. The road that the nation has now entered will only be successful if we continue to strengthen friendly understanding and cooperation with other peoples. The government confirms its position about its endeavours, while building democracy, to deepen fruitful relations with every state, which are ready to develop ties based on equal rights and mutual advantages.

Smallholders' Party Economic Program Discussed

LD2110224289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] The economic program is a question of key importance for every party and organization. Well, this is true for the Smallholders' Party, too. Its leaders have organized an econo-political consultation today in Jaszbereny where Janos Kiss interviewed Janos Hollos, one of the economic experts of the Smallholders' Party.

[Begin recording] [Hollos] The substance of our program is the strengthening of private ownership and incentive.

[Kiss] How does this program differ from the programs of other parties, since if we look at any party, they all proclaim that they want to strengthen private ownership?

[Hollos] The difference between the economic programs of various parties in a sensible economic environment, in a market economy, can only be a matter of nuances. Our economic situation today indicates the failure of over-regulation.

[Kiss] The Smallholders' party has a slogan which says that the land should be given back. To whom would you give the land back?

[Hollos] We would reinstate the state of the land register of 1947. If we do not carry this out, we would acknowledge the flagrant injustices of the past era. Simultaneously with this, we would put into force again the [word indistinct] land distribution law of 1945; thus people who would undertake to cultivate the land as a vocation, would receive land the same way as in 1945. [end recording]

Polish-Lithuanian 'Roundtable' To Meet 28 Oct

LD2410203189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] The idea of a Polish-Lithuanian roundtable has been born. The meeting will take place on 28 October in Warsaw. Eighteen places have been provided for: five for Poles from Lithuania; four for Lithuanians, including those from the Sajudis movement; two for representatives of the Lithuanian minority in Poland; and seven others, which will be taken by representatives of several clubs whose members have a special fondness for Lithuania. The basic thesis for discussion is the need for dialogue and cooperation between Poles and Lithuanians, both in and between the two countries.

Spokesman Criticizes Lithuanian Travel Restraints

LD2610220689 Warsaw PAP in English 1550 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 26—Restrictions in the touristic traffic between Lithuania and CMEA countries introduced by the authorities in Lithuania constitute a decision which mainly hits Poles, said Foreign Ministry Press Spokesman Stefan Staniszewski at his press conference here today.

This is incompatible with CMEA decisions, Staniszewski said, stressing that the question had been raised during Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's visit to Warsaw.

Commentary Praises USSR's Shevardnadze Remarks

LD2610132989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Krzysztof Wojna commentary]

[Text] History teaches us that the worth of official declarations and statements can only be ascertained after some time has passed. But if the consistency with which the Soviet Union today renounces intervention in its neighbours' affairs remains a lasting canon of the changes that are taking place east of the Bug, the sentence spoken by Eduard Shevardnadze in Warsaw—"We do not lay down the political system for other countries"—could indeed be regarded as a starting point for the construction of an entirely new model of Polish-Soviet relations.

Anyone looking at the map of the world will easily see that, compared to the Soviet Union, Poland is merely a small patch of land. But the point is that the times when the measure of sovereignty were the state's size and its military might are behind us, hopefully never to return. The Soviet Union is a world power, but its credibility in international politics to a large extent depends on how it is going to arrange its coexistence with its neighbors. What Eduard Shevardnadze said in Warsaw leads us to believe that the Russians do not identify good relations with Poland with a particular ideology or party. What they care about is good relations with the state. This is a platform on which a much more comprehensive cooperation than previously, beneficial to both sides, could develop.

Historians Meet in Moscow on World War II

AU2310165089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Oct 89 p 5

[Report by Jerzy Kraszewski, TRYBUNA LUDU's Moscow correspondent: "After the Meeting of Polish and Soviet Military Historians—Statements by Kazimierz Sobczak and Dmitriy Volkogonov"]

[Text] A 2-day meeting of Polish and Soviet historians on the subject of World War II ended in Moscow recently. It was organized by the Military-Historical Institute of the USSR Ministry of National Defense, the Institute of Military History of the Polish Ministry of National Defense, and the Polish Center of Information and Culture in Moscow whose idea the meeting was.

TRYBUNA LUDU's Moscow correspondent asked Colonel Kazimierz Sobczak, commandant of the Polish Institute of Military History; and Major General Dmitriy Volkogonov, chief of the Soviet Military-Historical Institute, to comment on the talks.

Colonel Kazimierz Sobczak: The meeting between Polish and Soviet historians on the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of war was a major event. In fact, this is the first time that Polish and Soviet military historians have jointly tackled problems of Polish-Soviet relations in 1939, and this is a very exhaustive and difficult topic.

During the talks, the Polish historians presented a frank and scholarly synopsis of all the problems concerning mutual relations between the two countries. As far as Poland is concerned, this mainly concerned the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, the Red Army's entry into Poland in 1939, and several other issues.

The Soviet historians dealt with the same problems on the basis of their own new and hitherto unknown sources, while making an honest interpretation of the facts and events of that period.

In basic issues, our views were convergent or similar. They were convergent as far as the origin and causes of World War II and the identity of the chief forces that caused and are responsible for it are concerned. These forces are fascist Germany, and there is no question of releasing them from their responsibility. Our thesis whereby Stalin facilitated Hitler's aggression against Poland by concluding the pact with Germany and signing secret protocols was accepted.

However, the thesis that the Red Army's entry into Poland on 17 September 1939, on the basis of the international law in force at that time, was nothing but an aggression, gave rise to various views and controversy. There were also differences in opinion about various aspects of our relations before the outbreak of war and as the war progressed in September 1939.

Generally speaking, the Soviet historians put the blame on the Polish Government for having rejected all proposals to accede to planned collective security agreements in Europe. They place particular emphasis on the fact that the Polish Government did not agree to the transit of Soviet forces through the Vilnius and Lvov corridors in the event of a German aggression against Poland.

There were also differences in other problems, such as the nature of military action after 17 September, the method of warfare, the number of skirmishes and battles between Soviet and Polish units, and the size of losses. We adopted these differences as the point of departure for another meeting and further talks aimed at working out a single, unified point of view on the problems connected with Polish-Soviet relations in 1939.

Major General Dmitriy Volkogonov: I think the meeting was exceedingly useful, probably for both sides. I think it took place in an atmosphere of mutual warmth, which encouraged the search for the historical truth and an honest explanation of the difficult problems of Soviet-Polish relations on the eve of World War II.

I will repeat what I said at the close of the meeting: Poland experienced a drama in 1939, on 1 September and on 17 September. However, the point of view of Soviet historians is as follows: The activity undertaken by Stalin was deeply immoral (I have in mind mainly the signing of the secret protocols), but I think that in August 1939 the Soviet leadership had no alternative but to conclude a pact with Germany. Of course, the best solution would have been the formation of a grant anti-Hitler coalition. As early as 1939, the Soviet Union was aiming toward such a coalition Unfortunately, it did not succeed at the time. The anti-Hitler coalition arose 2 years later, when the world was already in flames. Yet it could have arisen sooner.

In many issues discussed during the meeting, the points of view of both delegations were convergent or similar. There were also differences, which remain. For example, I cannot agree with the idea that the entry of Soviet forces into Poland on 17 September 1989 was an aggression, and that this campaign can be considered a war. Even the Polish Government said on 18 September 1939 that Poland is not at war with the USSR.

I would like to say that in order to completely understand the drama and tragedy of Poland, and later that of the USSR, it is essential to carry out an honest analysis, free of prejudice, of the facts, taking into account their interdependence and mutual circumstances. For example, I feel that the Versailles Treaty was the source of various tensions and conflicts between the wars. I think one should also remember that the Treaty of Riga in 1921, as a result of which the borders between Poland and the USSR were established east of the so-called Curzon Line, was always considered unfair by the Soviet Union, even though this treaty was never questioned legally.

What about the attitudes of England and France toward the aggression against Poland? They declared war on Germany, but provided no real help to Poland. Why not? Earlier, in May 1939, the USSR had suggested to Poland the conclusion of a military agreement, but the Polish Government rejected the idea out of hand. I realize that different historical experiences may give rise to various fears, but it was possible to hold talks, because there was already an awareness of the impending danger. For example, one could have imposed conditions that would have guaranteed independence, one could have sought other solutions within the framework of the Soviet proposal. And yet they were rejected. I think that was a mistake.

History should be considered as such. It must not be transformed into politics. Today, the Soviet people are reliving the drama of Poland in 1939 as their own drama. In the end, we fought against fascism together, and together we did much to perpetuate peace and security. I am convinced that together we will work out a scientifically justified point of view, also on the subject of the events of 1939.

Foreign Minister on German Reunification, Border

AU2610192389 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1800 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Interview with Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski by Geri Nasarski in Warsaw; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Skubiszewski] We are against a destabilization in Europe. We are for the current order in Europe, because only within the framework of this order can our reforms be implemented. The unity of Germany is a complicated question and, in my view, it is not a question for today. Of course, the German people have the right to self-determination, but the unity of Germany is also a question that involves all European states and the four superpowers.

[Sarski] Are you irritated by the discussion about the borders in the FRG?

[Skubiszewski] Irritated is not the right word. I consider this discussion superfluous. The border is a legal fact and the Oder-Neisse border cannot be changed. I think that the statement by FRG Minister Genscher at the United Nations—I think this was on 27 September—was very important; the minister said that Poland will have secure borders also in the future.

[Sarski] Could you describe in detail the problem of normalizing relations between Poland and the FRG? What do you imagine for the future?

[Skubiszewski] Well, there are always two levels, the state level and the social level. At the social level, I would say German-Polish relations have already been more than normalized. There are now good relations between the people in the two countries. Between the governments there have always been some conflicts and some problems, but now a settlement of these problems is being reached.

During the FRG chancellor's visit to Warsaw 9 or 10 treaties with the FRG will be signed I believe.

[Sarski] Do you consider the topic of the German minority in Poland to be a political issue or a real problem?

[Skubiszewski] Both, both. Some time ago—at that time I was not a minister and, of course, I had no idea that I would be a minister one day—I proposed in a discussion with the current president, General Jaruzelski, to introduce the criteria of language and nationality in a census. Because then, I think, it would be possible to know exactly how many people in Poland consider themselves Germans. In Poland there are people who are 100-percent Polish, but their ancestors were German citizens, and therefore they say that they are Germans themselves. But there is a difference between citizenship and ethnic origin. These two things are totally different.

Mazowiecki Receives World Bank Official Thalwitz

LD2410094389 Warsaw PAP in English 2019 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 23—Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki received today World Bank Vice President for Europe, Middle East and North Africa Wilfried Thalwitz.

After the meeting, Thalwitz told PAP that his meetings in Poland confirmed his conviction that the present Polish Government was determined to introduce the far-going economic reforms.

He said that his organization intended to support that process and to engage itself in investment projects linked with the privatization of the economy and its structural changes.

Thalwitz added that what interested him in particular were pro-supply activities that later on could be conducive to production and goods supplies growth.

He mentioned that the World Bank planned to help finance undertakings in agriculture, industry and economy's infrastructure.

Speaking about first concrete proposals he said that the first package of credits totalled some 250 million dollars but added that the involvement of that amount was still dependent on the stance of the International Monetary Fund on the adjustment programme.

Thalwitz added he could not speak on behalf of the fund but he thought that the programme would be shortly accepted and an agreement with the Polish Government reached.

Thalwitz stated they did not expect to open a World Bank mission in Poland but that they wanted to support, together with other banks and financial organizations, the process of reconstructing the banking system in this country.

Solidarity Leader Postpones Visit to Chile

LD2410185489 Warsaw PAP in English 1525 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 24—Lech Walesa's visit to Chile has been postponed to a later date in connection with the release of two union leaders Manuel Bustos and Arturo Martinez by Chilean authorities, the press office at the Solidarity ch[illegible]rman told PAP External Service.

Jaruzelski Appoints New Ambassadors 18 Oct

AU2210213289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Oct 89 p 2

[Text] PAP—President Wojciech Jaruzelski appointed Janusz Roszkowski PPR [Polish People's Republic] ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Kingdom of Denmark; and Wladyslaw Pozoga PPR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Janusz Roszkowski was born in 1928 in Lapy, Bialystok Voivodship, to a family of workers. He studied at the Diplomatic-Consular Faculty of the Main Foreign Service School in Warsaw. During the German occupation, he worked as a turner at the Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Plant in Lapy. From 1953 onwards he worked for PAP. From 1951 to 1963 he was a PAP correspondent in Berlin, and from 1953 to 1967 head of the PAP bureau in Bonn. From 1971 to 1986 he was editor in chief of PAP, and from 1986 to 1989 he was chairman of the Radio and Television Affairs Committee.

Wladyslaw Pozoga was born in 1923 in Sierzawy, Kielce Voivodship, to a family of peasants. During the German occupation he fought against the occupants in the People's Army. In 1963 he completed his studies at the Higher School of Economics in Sopot, where he obtained an economics degree.

In 1945 he commenced his working life at the Rural District Office in Tarczek, after which he worked in field offices, and then at the head office, of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, where he held a series of responsible leadership posts.

In September 1980 he became under secretary of state of internal affairs, and in 1986 first vice minister of internal affairs.

Walesa's Appointment of Kaczynski Criticized

PM2310094889 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 6 Oct 89 pp 1, 12

[Jan Dworak commentary: "56 Issues"]

[Text] The present, 19th issue of TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC closes an era in the history of the periodical. Lech Walesa has appointed as its editor-in-chief Senator Jan Kaczynski, secretary of the National Executive Commission [KKW] and of the the Polish Peasant Party,

Democratic Party, and Solidarity Consultative Commission. The manner in which this was done caused a spate of protests among the editorial staff, as a result of which most of its journalists decided to resign. For them, TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC will forever remain a task which has been stopped half-way. They will always remember it as a closed page in their professional, trade union, and even personal career. We created this paper. TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC has meant a lot to us.

For readers the weekly will continue, though in a changed shape. And readers deserve an explanation of what happened to TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC. Several of our colleagues have written about it in this issue. We also publish an item entitled "Information for KKW Members" signed by the editorial staff. I should like to deal with just one aspect of the situation here: the peculiar style of political thinking that characterizes the explanation offered to us to justify of the changes in our weekly's editorial team.

I am speaking out on the subject in circumstances which make it impossible not to be accused of bias. But I am doing it because the history of the changes in the composition of our editorial staff highlights certain general dangers and conflicts threatening us on the road to democracy—a road along which we have hitherto made only a few steps.

The union chairman's decision to change the chief editor has been explained in many different ways, but the reasons given most often were of a political nature.

This is what happened: A new center of political activity—namely, Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government—came to prominence within the Solidarity-inspired sociopolitical movement, forming a new, third force beside the trade union and the Citizens' Parliamentary Club [OKP]. This situation created the danger that TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC could become a government publication. In order to prevent this it was deemed necessary to place at the head of the editorial staff a person who would guarantee that the publication would retain its trade union affiliation and character.

Such reasoning and such a decision are tantamount to a vote of no-confidence in our publication's existing editorial and journalistic staff. Journalists on our weekly's staff are almost exclusively the same editors who were active in TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in 1981 and who wrote for such underground publications of the martial law period as TYGODNIK MAZOWSZE, WOLA, PRZEGLAD WIADOMOSCI AGENCYJNYCH, and others which carried the Solidarity logo in their mastheads, at a time when it seemed an unrealistic dream to imagine that the trade union would one day be legalized. These journalists joined the newly resurrected TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC with a firm conviction that they were returning to their rightful place: a trade union periodical based on the formula of broad social involvement. This formula was accepted and approved during a series of editorial panel debates with Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the paper's founder and first chief editor. It was his firm and consistent belief that a revived and strengthened trade union would provide the best guarantees for the implementation of radical political, economic, and social reforms in Poland.

After Tadeusz Mazowiecki left TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC to take up the office of premier, the editorial staff held a major programming policy conference in the editorial offices. Despite the fact that many controversial points were raised during that conference, there was never any doubt that the weekly would remain an organ of the Solidarity trade union and that it would continue to concentrate its attention on employee and union concerns, beside a range of other matters.

The sense of belonging to Solidarity was very strong in the editorial team. Consequently we accepted the need for disciplined subordination to the trade union's organizational structures. More importantly, there was universal acceptance of Solidarity values. To accuse longstanding Solidarity activists of not keeping sufficient faith is an insult, especially when it is not clear whether they are required to remain faithful to ideals or to particular personalities. The editorial team felt that Senator Kaczynski's explanation of the reasons behind his assumption of the office of TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC chief editor was tantamount to a vote of no-confidence and a declaration of contempt.

However, it was simply a direct consequence of the adoption of the "three centers theory." So what is the real meaning of this theory which has so frequently been publicized in the mass media in recent weeks?

Obviously its meaning goes beyond the simple statement that the government's tasks are different from those of a trade union's and that, in turn, both the government's and the union's brief is different from that of a parliamentary club. This would be a truism from which it would be difficult to draw any reasonable political conclusions. However, it can also mean that these three centers are the focal points of the process of crystallization and consolidation of the rival political forces at present vying for influence in our country. This interpretation of the "three centers" thesis clouds the real picture instead of clarifying it. Neither the OKP, nor the government, nor, finally, the Solidarity trade union can be seen as firm, cohesive, uniform entities. The OKP gathers within its ranks deputies and senators who represent the whole range of ideological orientations and a variety of social forces. The picture is very similar to that presented by the coalition government or the Solidarity trade union—which is still seeking its true identity.

Thus the interpretation of the "three centers" thesis suggested above does not hold water at all. It can only be accepted if we regard politics as a struggle for power and influence among individual personalities and groups associated with them. It was this trivial and shallow interpretation of politics that has brought about the

changes in TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC. Such an interpretation allows only one way of assessing political reality: in the context of loyalty to the master figure or the leader.

In this interpretation of politics, such virtues as resolute consistency of action, loyalty to ideals, or commitment to the social dimension and value of work become almost meaningless, empty concepts.

The editorial team of TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC has always remained faithful to the Solidarity movement and the trade union itself; it was asked, instead, to present guarantees of loyalty to one of the "three centers."

This way of looking at politics has its practical consequences. It gives rise to a certain method of action—a correspondingly flawed method of action.

No one has ever accused TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC of a lack of interest in matters involving trade union affairs, employee concerns, or social issues. It would have been difficult to substantiate such a charge. Moreover, no representatives of the union's authorities have ever engaged us in any form of substantive debate concerning the profile of our periodical. In addition, the astonishing manner in which the trade union chairman's decision to appoint a new chief editor was communicated to the team is something I cannot understand. Consequently, there are a few questions I should like to ask:

—Why did union authorities fail to inform the editorial staff of the appointment of a new chief editor?

—Why was the editorial staff informed about the decision by third parties?

—What serious difficulties precluded the subject's discussion at a session of the National Executive Commission, despite the formal request submitted by the editorial staff in the written document entitled "Information For KKW Members"?

Many more questions could be asked, and none of them would be likely to draw a satisfactory answer. But the question which is the most difficult to answer is this: Why, over a period of 2 weeks, was no attempt made to hold any serious talks with the editorial team and to find some compromise solution for the sake of solidarity itself?

The negative consequences of such steps affect first and foremost TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC itself, but they are also felt on a wider, social scale. This is because they generate unnecessary tensions and divisions within Solidarity and in the whole area of public and civic movements. These tensions and divisions are unfailingly noticed by foreign observers of our domestic affairs.

Apart from creating its own trade union structures, Solidarity as a broadly-conceived social movement gave rise to the OKP, and its members form the core of the new government. These bodies, which are only slowly forging their identity, have to learn the difficult art of cooperation. The brutal and precipitate blow that has struck our paper does not resolve any essential problems, nor does it alleviate any of the inevitable conflicts which our movement is still bound to encounter. In fact it has created an altogether unnecessary new conflict.

The success of the reform process in Poland will depend on sensible and responsible action on the part of all who participate in our political and public life. Those of us who hail from the circles of the pre-August [1980] opposition, Solidarity, and citizens' movements for political and social transformation have a particular obligation to act responsibly and to curb our personal ambitions.

The TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC affair shows that we still have a lot to learn.

Urban Interviewed on Current Media Changes

AU2310091189 Warsaw KULTURA in Polish 11 Oct 89 pp 8,15

[Interview with Jerzy Urban, former government press spokesman and former head of the Radio and Television Committee, by Jan Marx: "I Was a Fish Out of Water in That Chairmanship"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Marx] In the last "Open Studio" program, you said, if I remember correctly, that television is a medium especially created to distort reality. These intentionally provocative words not only incensed several of your powerful adversaries in broadcasting, but also astounded almost all of the viewing public, who, on hearing this truism being stated with deliberate cynicism, realized that a change of director and inmates of this institution would not open up the gates of truth. Your successor, even though he may regard himself as the custodian of an indivisible truth that does not admit any objective reality, will not be striving to create a model of television that will be freed of ideology, because he will be equally distorting reality in the interests of the opposition which he represents, and to its political advantage.

In your introduction to "The Worm in the Apple," you write: "My only passion is politics (...) I am a political columnist, because I did not make the grade as a politician. In every theater one can find someone who is theater-mad—it may be the director, the prompter, or even the cloakroom attendant—but whose dreams of making it on stage never quite worked out. The same thing happens in the theater of politics."

You wrote those words a long time ago, and yet much later you immersed yourself in politics—with great success—and proved that you were indeed extremely suited to be a politician. Now you are again being pushed away from politics. Does this mean the final parting of the ways?

[Urban] I intend to concentrate on politics in a different role, but much as before. Quite simply, even when I was the government press spokesman, I never regarded myself as a true politician, that is to say, I was a kind of

shadow politician, because I believe that one can only be a politician when one has been elected, and when one can make decisions that have political implications. Not everyone who helps to shape politics—and this is what I was doing during the period I was press spokesman—can be called a politician. Similarly, not everyone who helps build a house can be called an architect.

In the farewell ceremony I made a little speech of which only some excerpts were broadcast. The premier, Drawicz, and I said a few words, and our respective speeches contained notes of dispute, at times quite stringent, and a couple of times we even interrupted each other. When the item was finally broadcast, its content suggested that everything had gone quite smoothly and without any conflict.

[Marx] Whose idea was it to edit the program for the benefit of the viewers, showing you all as well behaved and tactful people, in a nutshell, as puppets.

[Urban] These things are insignificant, but as one of the people who participated at that occasion, I later watched the program with some suspicion that it had been edited intentionally, although it may also have been pure accident, and my complaints may stem from being over anxious. Anyone who has ever appeared on television and has had his comments subsequently edited, rightly feels this way.

GAZETA WYBORCZA carried the headline: "Television is Ours." Earlier, we had headlines: "The Premier Is Ours," and "The Government is Ours," and so on. This was very reminiscent of the wartime communiques: "Kiev is Ours," or "Odessa is Ours." I find strange inconsistencies in the statements made by the premier and the new television chairman. On the one hand they maintain that a program ought to represent all the important political tendencies in Polish life; it should be pluralistic; the television must serve the general public; it must be under society's control (this, as we all know, means nothing, because qualitatively such control is both impossible and undesirable); and at the same time, these comments carry elements of a rather different nature, namely; the only control to be exercised over television is to be by the government; there can be no other center of control (the party, for example, has no right to be here); the personal convictions of journalists are their private matter; their party membership cards have to be left outside the front door; and finally, the government emanates from the people, and therefore television and radio must support it.

[Marx] This is a collection of the now ritual verbage which the opposition has began to repeat after the communists, not the communists of the 1980's, but the ones from the 1970's.

[Urban] Yes, but this collection contains two things of note. It has been said that the old and sole center of control will be replaced by another sole center of control, and this means there is no change of principle, but a mere change of control. At the same time, when one looks at the statement about leaving party membership cards outside, it transpires that the journalists will not be able to present their own political convictions in current affairs programs. Such convictions are developed through many factors, among other things, individual affiliations with political parties.

[Marx] Will the journalists become puppets of the government?

[Urban] I did not say that, but I consider it important that up till now I have heard no mention of the right of television and radio to be able to criticize the government.

[Marx] It looks therefore, as if television and radio will as before remain the institutions of a rigged audience.

[Urban] I do not want to prejudge anything. But I wish to register my concern at those elements of triumphalism and domination, and that the principles of the relationship: state authority and the mass media, are, to put it delicately, full of internal contradictions, and not quite fully thought through. I would also add that in this there may be the element of reliance on the political opportunism of the television employees, namely, a deliberate game to exploit this weakness, this tendency, that was shaped by the communists. However, I think that our opposition friends are in danger of choking themselves on this very thing.

[Marx] There are hordes of opportunists who work in radio and television, and chairman Drawicz should have no problems in selecting from them, and getting support from these people. But let us come back to you. When you agreed to take over this job, did you have a plan for reshaping and optimizing the structures of this institution? Do you feel today that you could have done more?

[Urban] I stated at that final meeting that I was leaving without any regrets, because I felt like a fish out of water in that post. Incidentally, these remarks were edited out, possibly for reasons of decorum. I arrived at that post shortly before the start of the election campaign with the task of leading this campaign. I was not able to influence it very much, because I did not have much time to learn how to orchestrate this instrument, or how to lead the whole orchestra. After all, there are a several separate stages of hierarchy between the chairman and the people who actually produce the television programs. Apart from this fact, the pre-election period was not conducive to a large scale program restructuring. After the election defeat I quietly waited to be dismissed. I was thus a stopgap person and had no powers to make personnel changes.

[Marx] For tactical reasons?

[Urban] No, for practical reasons. If I had begun to make staff changes during the election campaign the television and radio would have concentrated on these matters, and not on the election campaign. Personnel changes always arouse the most interest. After the elections any staff changes would have meant tampering with the

internal balance of radio and television, and this would have given such moves a political character. Internal fighting would have flared up. After Tadeusz Mazowiecki was nominated premier—in the third period of my chairmanship—as I have already said, I really waited for my dismissal.

[Marx] Surely when you took over this post you had some clearly defined plans?

[Urban] I conceived my role of chairman in a different way than had been done by my predecessors. Owing to the fact that I was involved in jointly shaping politics, I considered that I should play the role of a political patron of this institution, and I would chose managers who would restructure it. I wanted to play a similar role to that played by French ministers. A French minister can head the ministry of communications today, tomorrow he might head the ministry of foreign affairs, and a little later, the ministry of overseas territories. He represents a link between the political power, the program of this poweer, and some sphere of national life. I wanted to be the creator of political conditions that would facilitate the transformation of radio and television. I did not have an ideal model in mind, because an ideal model of political relations is nonexistent in Poland. The media has always been a mirror reflecting the political system. It is not something that can exist independently of the system. That is why I do not think it is important to pay much attention to the nature of the eventual statute on the media, or its governing regulations, or even whether it will be subordinate to the government, or the Sejm. Apart from the formal arrangements, there are always the more important links between individuals, the hundreds of people who decide on a television program, with other personages and interest groups. These links are not only political. One can change these links, just as one can change people, but links cannot be totally eradicated. If I show undue concern about television, and doubt if it will have a pluralistic character, it is for the simple reason that I do not know whether our political life will take on a pluralistic character of the various political forces.

I am worried that certain institutions which are linked to the traditions of Stalinism will triumph in public life, that is to say, we shall again see a dominant force, which, of course, will not attempt to describe itself as such, and which will surround itself with various satellite creations, and in this way pretend to simulate its differentiation and democracy. An instrument which could emerge to shape such an order is the concept of a reforming force in the party, and in other groupings, associations, and political organizations. The mechanism behind it is simple. Any political force that dominates, chooses with whom it wishes to cooperate and defines which party member is, or is not, a reformer. It will only choose to work with these people, and through this process of co-opting people who previously might have had a different political complexion, one begins to create a new nomenklatura.

[Marx] This nomenklatura is very often composed not of reformers but from opportunists and other undesirables.

[Urban] No doubt I have exaggerated, because similar patterns never repeat themselves. But I suspect that before true democracy based on free competition between political forces can arise in Poland, decades will pass. Additionally, democracy and pluralism have more verbal than real support in our peoples' predilections. Those people who support the new forces, that is, the one time opposition, want to eliminate all the remaining political forces. They are irritated by the continued existence of such forces. Their tendency is to destroy all forces that were not with the opposition. The old opposition itself, is an amalgam of various forces whose internal tensions will continue to mount. This is the parallel process that lessens the danger of a new hegemony being established on the Polish political scene.

[Marx] One can clearly see that after the takeover of power the opposition wishes to monopolize power. The Polish political scene is repeating the well known historical process played out in authoritarian states, when one dictatorship is being replaced by another and surrounds itself with a fence of democratic slogans.

[Urban] I do not wish to put it as strongly as that, because Poland is currently undergoing many other processes, not just this one. Apart from the creation of a new political elite, there is the crystallization of groups having conflicting economic interests, and which are not always conscious of this fact. I believe that such groupings will tend to form their own political representation and this will be another factor favoring democratization and balancing the present day divisions which tend to run along ideological- emotive fractures.

[Marx] I want to touch on another aspect of the political changes, namely, on the growing influence of the clergy. But first I will cite an independent opinion. Milosz, commenting Brzozowski's novel: "Alone Among People" (Sam Wsrod Ludzi) states that the paradox lies in the fact that it was the simple kind-hearted Polishness, conformism, which protected the young generations from Russian influence, but this quality was intellectually at a substantially lower level than that represented by the cosmopolitan Russian intelligentsia (...). One could say that we witnessed a repetition of the very thing that Maria Dabrowska noted when she wrote that Poland was—regretfully—saved by Catholicism during the Swedish invasion. On the one side there was the great universal idea of protestantism, and on the other there was our own backyard, namely, Jasna Gora and the monks, that is to say, obscurantism."

Do you not think that the present times will provide the ideal conditions for the development of the "simple kind-hearted Polishness" ethic again? The unenlightened masses are already raising their voices and calling for various things, for example, a law defending the unborn child. The church is forcefully attempting to regain those spheres of influence that the left deprived it of.

[Urban] I share and agree with your opinion, but my prognosis is not as pessimistic as yours.

[Marx] Do you believe that Poland cannot be transformed into a church-clerical state, despite the fact that the opposition consists of quite evidently practicing Catholics, even to the limits of devotionalism? You can almost smell the incense.

[Urban] The church will now start to lose the main chief source of its influence, because up till now it was the only political alternative, and a spiritual and organizational sanctuary for all malcontents. Second, experience teaches us that in Poland all those aspirations that seek to define the shape of the political, economic, and social relations, and simultaneously try to shape the soul of man, intervene into his customs, his loves, sexual life, and everything, must always lose out in the end. The communists were also like this and all that finished in 1956. Those kinds of ambitions, and the church has them, will not last the course. In the new political conditions the young people will soon get tired of the church as a center of morality; a church that now chooses not to support the rebelliousness and courage of the citizen. The church's force of attraction will thus diminish.

I anticipate a fall in the wave of devotionalism, and the clericalism. I note, however, that the people who have taken over authority in Poland, represent the more tolerant and modern section of the Catholics. They come from WIEZ [LINK], the Young Poland Movement, and from the Workers Defense Committee. There is one more factor which is unfavorable to clericalism, namely, the fact that Poland is not shutting itself off from the West. The new forces are seeking links with the West, and are enamored by it, and this tendency will also lessen the danger of a Polish-Catholic isolationism.

[Marx] But there is no shortage of obscurantism and orthodoxy. These have considerable support in the Independent Students Union and other academic organizations which, in my opinion, somewhat reverses your optimism.

[Urban] Catholic rule of the soul has this one peculiarity, namely, people draw from the church's teaching those elements which they want, that is to say, they ignore the vast majority of it. The church is unsuccessful when it calls for harder work (which it has started to do recently), or sobriety, or when it opposes abortions, or social protests. Only a few people have taken up its views on serving others and anti-egoism. This rule of souls is rather shallow, but the church has every chance of being successful in strengthening social vices, such as deceit, mendacity, propagating the myth of the family, which is asocial, or when it seeks to preserve the clergy's position as a flawless authority.

[Marx] This would be more difficult, the clergy are often involved in all sorts of nasty things and dealings.

[Urban] I am not thinking of the authority of any particular or individual priests, but of the political authority of the church organization as a whole. The clergy try to interfere in politics but they are unwilling to take responsibility for anything. It does not openly condone anything, and does not admit to making any mistakes at all. It cleverly puts itself beyond the reach of all possible criticisms and controls by society. It avidly supports democracy, but God forbid not within its own organization.

In the 1960's and the 1970's the church played a very minor political role in the world, although in Poland this political role has always been substantial. Now, this political role has increased vastly throughout the whole world, although this only concerns the rather exclusive area of international relations that does not require any influence in the western societies.

[Marx] But in Poland this social support is overwhelming. The general wringing of hands at the spreading poverty does not trouble the exceptionally favorable situation of the clergy. Churches are being built that in size are comparable to the great castles of yesterday. Luxury residences are being constructed. But let us turn to another matter. You once wrote: "As a political columnist, was I not playing the role of jester in the service of the court? I am more interested in the relationship between authority and society, and it is the Lord, and not the servant, who decides on the status of the columnist-commentator. My Lord would deny me his service at times when he disposed of a more numerous and more zealous servants to do his bidding. It is only in the old and slightly declining courts that an old trusted servant is truly valued, although at times the old retainer can become too familiar, and cannot be relied on in all matters. Bearing these or those colors does not worry me unduly, because it is the Polish state, and not the successive chaotic dreams of its society that appear to me to be the supreme value. The Polish book of dream interpretations will be the subject of ridicule in my pages."

You are generally considered to be a person belonging to the past establishment, a joint partner of past authority. Did you feel comfortable in those colors, or was it a straitjacket which you found perhaps a little too restrictive?

[Urban] Whatever political partnership may be, it is certainly not the wearing of the same political colors. Those words were written from the position of a man who was beyond reach of all institutional links with the authorities—a man who was not liked, but was hated by that authority, and later when the time of crisis came that same authority encouraged him nearer and began to appreciate him.

[Marx] Most recently were you not the darling of that authority?

[Urban] I was treated as a gladiator who was fighting in that authority's colors. It is very difficult to divide writing from action at those times. If you are a member of a team that rules, you do not take the stage as the jester who enjoys

friendly relations with the court, but you appear as a partner of that authority, and who speaks from its position. It is not just a matter of formal status that I stopped working as a journalist and began to work as a minister. You cannot be a detached critic of some policy when you are helping to shape that policy daily, when you are surrounded by the people who are involved in elaborating such a policy, and when you represent these joint efforts. Politically and psychologically, this is impossible.

[Marx] I want to try and catch you out again. You once wrote: "I am neither a great thinker, or a great writer, or the creator of any lasting truths." Leaving aside the evident self-irony, one has to say that your journalism is not proving to be erode away with the time, and many of your comments from way back are showing themselves to be correct. Surely it is worth publishing them together in a book?

[Urban] I only wanted to say one thing, namely, that I am a journalist, and not a thinker. Journalism means reacting to something with haste, instantaneously, and though I am not an intellectual creating any lasting values, I am shaped in a particular way, and I have my unchanging features and convictions. In Poland there is such overcrowding in the bombast department that I refuse to go there.

[Marx] One of the qualities of your writing is provocative contrariness, namely, writing against the grain of accepted opinion.

[Urban] The repetition of the currently held arguments, even though they are correct is really not worth the effort, but it is well worth writing against the grain of commonly held beliefs. I like irritating people.

[Marx] Do you not feel the need, in order to preserve an emotional balance, to praise something which fascinates you, and do you only do so through your contrariness?

[Urban] I feel the need to praise something that I like, but this is from a political view, and not from pleasure. Apart from that, when praising something one can appear to want to oppose the current of generally accepted views. For example, if I were to praise satanists, which I have no reason to do, I would certainly set myself against universal feelings.

[Marx] Boy Zelenski, who was as great a writer as he was a scandaliser, wrote that he sometimes felt like a whore who was fondled in private and avoided in the street. By this he meant that in private he was praised but in public he was criticised. Although no one in the press is pouring buckets of dishwater over your head, as they once did over the head of the author of "Our Occupants," I feel that you must feel the same way that he did. You will agree that a journalist finds it exciting and perverse to feel hated by all, but at the same time he hypnotizes with his words, gestures, and charisa all the ranks of his detractors who were not able to tear themselves away from their televisions during your now legendary press conferences. They shook their heads but remained riveted. In this negative attitude contains some unconscious thread of adoration, in connection with this do you by any chance have the same attitude to this ambivalent adoration as did Boy Zelenski?

[Urban] I do not suffer from a feeling of shortage of adoration. Quite simply both in public and in private I am criticized and praised in equal measure. I have not come across the situation where somebody tells me that he likes me very much, but is unable to put that in writing. As a result I do not have this feeling of this perverse duality that Boy Zelenski had.

Drawicz Discusses Changes to Polish Media

AU2310181789 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19 Oct 89 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Andrzej Drawicz, new chairman of the Radio and Television Committee, by Stanislaw Goszczurny: "New Faces, Varied Attitudes"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Goszczurny] Mr Chairman: During the performance of your present function, and also in interviews and during your meeting in Katowice, you declared your intentions concerning transformations and paths of action. Therefore, society is already acquainted with them. In any case, some of the changes can already be seen on the television screen. Now, several weeks later, I would like to ask what has already been achieved, and in what direction further changes will go. Let us perhaps start with the publicity- information sphere, which is of such importance for radio and television.

[Drawicz] Even before my appointment to this post, certain processes were initiated which have opened up the publicity and information part of our institution to better solutions. It would be megalomanic for me to say that my appointment has created a fundamentally new situation, because, like I say, these processes started earlier. In that case, my first intention was to impart new energy to them. For example, I wanted the main television programs to be filled with people who possess an image, who represent views and values in the eyes of society, views and values for which these people may assume responsibility. I think we have already achieved something in this respect. Even though these programs are still the target of heightened social expectations, including criticism, if one looks at them objectively, one sees that basic programs like "Teleexpress," "Panorama," and the main television news already give a fuller picture of events in Poland and the world, and are closer to the concept of a nonparty, frank, and honest television service that permits various people representing various attitudes to air their views. As we know, this is already happening, and such statements are frequently quite sharp, sometimes involving a burst of energy.

[Goszczurny] There was none of this before.

[Drawicz] That is right. I think this is the way it should be. Of course one must not overdo it, but dialogue is very good. However, the need to reform some programs and find a new pattern and formula for them is a different subject. Generally, programs tend to become old-fashioned and stiff as time goes by. Some programs, such as the news, are the target of a certain amount of social hatred, which, of course, is only partly justified because it is not the fault of the people who read the news, nor is it caused by the contents of the news items these people read, and yet they have to shoulder this hatred as a fact of life. As head of an institution based on contacts with society, I have to notice when these contacts encounter difficulties. I believe we will be able to draw conclusions concerning a new formula in the nearest future, concerning at least some information programs. This general formula will then bring about changes on a smaller level, for example new faces, new methods of presentation, and so on. I think this will happen soon. Of course, I prefer to provide details after it has happened.

[Goszczurny] I understand it is too early to do so; the concepts are still being worked out.

[Drawicz] Yes. However, as far as long-term work is concerned, which will have a bearing on the entire institution of radio and television, I would mention first of all planned changes to legislation which provide the basis of our committee's existence and activity. This, of course, sounds somewhat abstract to our readers and listeners, but without it we cannot take any major step forward. The committee's existence is based on Sejm resolutions, and on Council of Ministers Resolution No. 202. Neither of these documents suit the present reality anymore. They are relics of the past, with all its burdens. Right now we are preparing draft legislation which will permit the finding of a formula whereby radio and television can function in a modern way.

Seeing that I have already used the expression "radio and television," permit me to dwell on a certain matter. It so happens that television is more visible to and more accessible to society. It is subject to more criticism and is under greater fire from society, which attaches greater expectations to it. The chief focus of attention is the television news. However, I am trying to avoid the temptation of television bias, and I would ask your readers and my future and, I hope, present viewers and listeners to notice that in radio, the processes we are talking about are already very advanced.

This is because radio is a more stable structure and was more immune to the destruction from outside the country during bad times. Radio put up a stronger defense to this, and right now I think radio news and literary programs are at a very high standard. I was pleased when people who listen to West European radio programs on a professional basis told me that our radio news programs are as good as those in the West. Yes, I would very much encourage my present and future readers, viewers, and listeners to remember that television is more than just the 1930 news. It is an entire spectrum, and within this spectrum major, interesting changes are occurring.

[Goszczurny] Perhaps a few words about a second sphere of activity by radio and television, and a very important one: culture. I have in mind broadly conceived culture, in other words, science, education, and intellectual matters, too.

[Drawicz] Here, my concern is that, while implementing routine tasks, of which there are a multitude on account of the times in which we live,—in other words, explanations of and commentaries on economic policy, social policy, and so on—we should not push long-term tasks further into the distance. I have in mind culture and education. I note with alarm that friends of mine who are artists and writers have no chance of presenting their own problems during the long and sharp Sejm debates which they sometimes attend, because there are always more urgent matters to be discussed.

My hope is aroused by the fact that my colleague, Izabella Cywinska [minister of culture], whose energy and experience I value very highly, has applied herself with great verve and commitment to work in her own cultural backyard. In any case, we have established cooperation. I hope I will succeed in making people remember that very major, long-term duties are in store for us. This is especially important nowadays, when completely new prospects for a broad presentation of arguments are shaping themselves, when we can say virtually anything we want, because the barriers of censorship have virtually disappeared. Therefore, the point is to make a greater effort to reconstruct society's consciousness in an intelligent way. I say reconstruct, because society's consciousness has been left in ruins, or at least weakened, by parochial practices, a monoparty point of view, and indoctrination. As you noticed, I hesitated before I used the word "reconstruct," because when I once used the word "reeducate," I heard protests from people who said that "we do not want to be reeducated." However, I had no intention of performing indoctrination or education. All I wanted to say is that a certain amount of damage and even devastation had occurred to social consciousness—a certain dehumanization of our society.

Unfortunately, 40 years of bad practices in this field have not vanished without a trace. In this area we have to act without excessive didactics, without attempting to shape people's views in a biased manner once again. This is the way we must perceive the cultural, educational, and scientific part of our work. This, of course, involves certain film and theater work, which immediately calls to mind major economic problems. We have a lot to do here, but obviously we must act in this field, and we will do so.

[Goszczurny] One more question, Mr Chairman. I am not very sure about the term "socialization." In the case of radio and television, I would not be able to explain

what it means because, without choice, radio and television is a state institution. How do you understand the problem?

[Drawicz] I must be honest with you and tell you that I, too, cannot explain the long-term purpose of this socialization. This is because the problem of the status of radio and television in the political and social structure of various countries has been solved in various ways from one country to another. The very question of government or parliamentary control over radio and television is a matter that gives rise to controversy and can be resolved in various ways. Therefore, all I will say is that in the short term, I imagine this socialization to mean real access to radio and television for representatives of various social forces, with a possibility for them to express their views. I will try to implement the principle I voiced before I came here, whereby this is meant to be an honest, nonparty institution, open to the presentation of various views and attitudes within the limits of the possibilities offered by radio and television—not just the views and attitudes of people who belong to the coalition, but also of those who do not belong to it.

However, in the long run, I think that socialization will involve what I have already said—the search for a new formula for radio and television in a new reality. Based on the assumption that no single person can achieve anything new, I have appointed a term of advisers, wise men in the positive sense of the word, who are collecting ideas, opinions, and concepts, and examining the experience of other countries, so as to select what is best for us. I suspect that once they have made their selection, worked out a concept, and presented it publicly, it will encounter reaction from society all the same. Discussions among various bodies, even consultations, will be necessary. In any case, this will probably be a rather long and difficult process, but I think it is necessary. Now I am waiting for alternative ideas to be put forth.

[Goszczurny] In any case, the road this institution has embarked upon is very interesting, but not easy. I wish you success in the fulfillment of these plans.

[Drawicz] Thank you very much.

Niezabitowska, Misiag Hold News Conference

AU2310141389 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19 Oct 89 pp 1, 3

[Report signed 'FOR' on news conference by Malgorzata Niezabitowska, government spokesman; and Wojciech Misiag, undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Finance; in Warsaw on 18 October]

[Text] Malgorzata Niezabitowska, government spokesman; and Wojciech Misiag, undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Finance; met with Polish foreign journalists on 18 October. Questions were asked by 21 journalists, mainly on the subject of two issues that required explanation.

M. Niezabitowska started the news conference with a speech about the basic paths and goals of Polish foreign policy. Referring to Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki's visit to Rome and Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson's recent visit to Poland, she said that these events signify Poland's new opening to the world. One of the main reasons for this is our economic situation. But the point is also to overcome existing divisions in Europe. In this sense, this opening transcends short-term economic effects.

The first, long-term objective of Poland's opening to the world is to work out a state strategy concerning relations with the USSR. International ties, such as the bilateral alliance with the Soviet Union and Poland's presence in the Warsaw Pact, will be respected, taking into account the interests of the other side, and on the basis of strict reciprocity. Another objective is to open Poland toward Western Europe, while preserving Poland's ties with its neighbors. We aim to gradually eliminate European divisions. Another objective is to eliminate spheres of influence in Europe, which we distinguish from security zones. We want a Europe that consists of states that are sovereign in their foreign policy and independent in their domestic policy.

We consider a breakthrough in relations with the FRG as a matter of enormous importance in the very near future. One should expect the deadlock that has existed for many years to be overcome and several agreements to be signed during Chancellor Helmut Kohl's visit.

The general characteristic of Poland's international policy is the emphasis on the rule of law in international relations. That is why, said M. Niezabitowska, our country will shortly accede to several protocols, pacts, and conventions connected with human rights.

Next, the spokesman issued a statement on government information policy. Noting that this policy has encountered increasing criticism lately, she said that in the opinion of some members of the cabinet, criticism of the government is being camouflaged. We are acting the way the situation permits, and the situation is doubly difficult because on top of the deep economic crisis, we have extremely strong pressure from society. Many citizens must have thought that things would improve immediately after the appointment of a new government, with a new premier from "Solidarity." But things have not only not improved, they have actually deteriorated. What is more, things have to deteriorate, so that they many improve later. However, this improvement will take some time. To an outside observer, the government's enforced activity often looks like a "struggle." But in fact it is a determined, sometimes even desperate, attempt to rescue the budget and the most threatened spheres of the country's's life. Although they appear to be a strain on the system, the inevitable price increases are premeditated, as part of the transfer to a market economy.

W. Misiag discussed the draft amendments to the 1989 budget law which the Council of Ministers had adopted.

This draft is a total amendment to the budget law, he said. It cannot be considered yet another proposal concerning a provisional budget.

While working out this draft, the government took into account the fact that after the first half of the year, budget expenditures outweighed budget income by 30 percent. Yet the 1989 annual plan only foresaw a 5 percent excess in expenditures over incomes. At the same time, the government had to consider the impact of financial acts of parliament on the subject of indexation, the promise to increase the incomes of people paid out of the state budget, and so on. Another feature affecting the budget balance is the need to cater out of budget funds for the needs of sick people in hospitals and pay personnel in the Armed Forces. The food price increases are also making budgetary expenditures rise.

The budget should receive a total of Z29.7 trillion for the whole of 1989, said W. Misiag. According to the Sejm, the budget deficit at the end of October must not exceed Z4.9 trillion. Therefore, the government's plan to reduce the budget deficit at the end of the year to Z4.7 trillion can be considered ambitious.

In the draft amendment to the 1989 budget, the government suggested to the Sejm that the rules governing subsidies for coal mining be changed as of 1 November. Short-term measures would be applied to coal mining, before systemic solutions are introduced. While guaranteeing the costs involved in extraction and safeguarding a minimum level of profitability for coal mines, it is intended to cease the practice of making the level of subsidies for coal dependent on the transaction prices of coal. This alone would permit savings of Z1.2 trillion. Second, the government wants to make changes to the advance payment of income tax. Enterprises would make larger payments at the end of the year, but at the same time the avalanche of transactions that are usually in evidence whenever the annual balance sheet is closed would disappear. Extra income into the budget, caused by income tax levied on wage increases that exceed the cost of living index, is also envisaged. Third, the purchase of the new state treasury bonds after 1990 is envisaged. The Ministry of Finance will publish the rules governing this subject after it has acquired the authorization to do so. Fourth, the budget amendment foresees savings in budget expenditures by the end of the year. This applies mainly to national defense and public security. Plans in this regard have been discussed with the relevant ministries. However, we wish to make it clear that the principles of wages policy concerning people paid out of the state budget would be upheld.

One can divide the questions that were asked into three categories. The first concerned our international contacts; the second concerned economic matters, including plans for privatization; and the third consisted of questions about the employment of Poles abroad, the material situation of the intelligentsia, and so on.

Asked what criteria would be applied to the privatization of state assets, Minister Misiag replied: I do not foresee any single pattern of activity concerning privatization. On the contrary, a kind of competition between different methods of privatizing enterprises is envisaged.

The next question also concerned privatization. Following the objections of the National Trade Union Confederation, and also of the Polish United Workers Party authorities, to the concept of privatization, ought it not to be made plain when privatization will occur and what consequences thereof the coalition will bear?

The expression "splitting up of state assets," sometimes used by opponents to the idea of privatization, is rather vague, W. Misiag replied. When thinking about privatization, people should remember that this process will take place in an intelligent and legal way, without any haste, and without any secrecy. Until such time as a stock exchange and a normal capital-based market are created, each sale of state assets must take the form of an auction. It will not be possible to auction off all state assets either today or in 10 years time, because most citizens do not have enough money to buy major assets from the state. Nevertheless, one must consider privatization, because the present formula of enterprises has not passed its test.

As far as the permanence of the coalition is concerned, it is significant that the bill on cooperatives has been unanimously adopted by all members of the government, M. Niezabitowska added. The price of electricity, gas, and coal will increase, but not as much as some gossip-mongers claim. These people have said that these prices will increase elevenfold. In answer to the next question, M. Niezabitowska said that the wholesale price of coal, affecting the cost of central heating, will rise by 100 percent, and the price of a kilowatt-hour will rise by about 140 percent.

Answering a question about the possibilities of paying off the interest on Poland's debts, Minister Misiag said: Right now we are not in a position to completely fulfill our obligations, even those concerning interest payments. Negotiations are under way. One should realize that it is not just the payment of interest that matters, but the payment of the entire $40 billion debt.

What did the government representative discuss with Lech Walesa?

This was, replied M. Niezabitowska, a meeting between Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz and Lech Walesa in the Sejm on 13 October. This meeting took place because of L. Walesa's planned visit to the United States. The main purpose of it was to brief Walesa on the paths and provisions of the government economic program. There were also consultations on present and possible U.S. aid for Poland. Lech Walesa was particularly interested in the prospects of privatizing the economy.

During his visit to Rome, will Premier Mazowiecki invite the pope to make another trip to Poland?

I do not know exactly, replied the spokesman, but certainly we would all like to host the Holy Father in Poland once again.

Is a visit to Moscow by Premier T. Mazowiecki planned, and what would the talks be about?

As we know, USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will come to Poland shortly, M. Niezabitowska replied. We expect a date for Premier Mazowiecki's visit to Moscow to be arranged. We would like this visit to be more than just the opening of a new chapter because of the formation of a noncommunist government in Poland. We would like it to furnish concrete results in the form of signed agreements.

In what spheres should one expect breakthrough decisions during FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl's visit to Poland?

I hope, replied the spokesman, that the visit will mark a real breakthrough in mutual relations, a demolition of the existing barriers, and an embarkation upon the path of accord and reconciliation. We expect bilateral agreements on economic and financial support for the economic reforms in Poland, especially in the form of government guarantees, and the availability, of credits and other aid in the conversion of our debts. Also, we are very much counting on aid in our search for credits and in our efforts in international institutions to reschedule our debts. A second group of topics will concern a better basis for an accord between Poles and Germans. A third group will involve the creation of conditions for and cooperation in achieving positive transformations in Europe.

Does the Polish Government intend to question Poland's eastern border?

No, replied the spokesman firmly.

Does the government intend to combat the discrimination of Polish citizens who are trying to obtain visas for some countries?

Yes, M. Niezabitowska replied. However, I have no details about this right now.

Replying to a question asked during the previous news conference about the employment of Polish citizens abroad, she said that the draft of an appropriate law is being produced. This draft dispenses with the monopoly over job placement. It calls for the abolition of the exploitation of these people, whereby some of them are deprived of their hard currency earnings. Nevertheless, she stressed that most foreign countries are not interested in concluding with us any agreements concerning the employment of Polish manpower.

She said that the Council of Ministers has appointed a special group to investigate ways of honoring those who have made donations to Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki's Social and Economic Initiatives Support Fund.

A foreign journalist asked: Does the government have a program for improving the situation of the intelligentsia? Without revitalizing the intelligentsia, there is no question of real progress in the country's development.

There is no such program, M. Niezabitowska replied. However, it is worth noting that in accordance with the appropriate law, improving the material situation of people paid out of the state budget also means improving the material situation of a considerable number of people belonging to the intelligentsia.

PAP Reports Economic Committee Meeting 21 Oct

LD2210014189 Warsaw PAP in English 2040 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 21—Government economic body KERM—Economic Committee at the Council of Ministers—today worked on two draft laws which are meant to, respectively, enhance the process of demonopolisation in the economy and provide legal framework for the solution of unemployment.

Anti-Monopoly Law

The KERM accepted the anti-monopoly draft law which assigns the central anti-monopoly office, controlled by the government, and its local agencies to the task monopoly control. The KERM found the draft going in the right direction.

Employment Law

The draft law on employment settles a number of questions, including particular problems, such as employment abroad (equal rights for those working abroad on individually signed contracts). However, the most important provisions of the draft concern the prospect of unemployment.

"It would be wrong," PAP was told by Minister of Labour and Social Policy Jacek Kuron, "to read the draft as anticipation of unemployment because it first of all should prevent unemployment, make it easier for the workers to flow from inefficient spheres to those more successful economically and socially.

"In the proposed law we want to regulate the problem of establishing a labour fund to be used for unemployment allowances, lump payments, and covering the costs of training for persons being temporarily out of job. The KERM will insert the last corrections to the draft within days and submit its final version to the Council of Ministers."

Loans, Funds

The next round of KERM conference focused on the proposals of various loans among which the most important is the grain loan which was recognized an economic necessity, especially in the face of clearly lower grains procurement recorded after a rather good harvest.

Another proposal is to set up a charity fund enabling a real support to the protection of this country from such threats as inflation, degradation of natural environment, and the decline of the population's health. This fund would be made of private donations and its proposed name is "the Mazowiecki Fund."

The KERM also proposed to include the "SOS" bank account earlier opened by Jacek Kuron into the fund. Another initiative is a national loan named "Solidarity With Poland 2000." Money coming in for the loan would become kind of bonds payable after the year 2000 plus interest or to be exchangable into a bank deposit after 1995 which could be collected after 2000.

The KERM also dealt with current problems. Wages continue to be one of the most important such issues. The conference stressed that pay raises must be kept within the financial capabilities of the enterprise.

Council of Ministers Session Chaired by Mazowiecki

LD2410104289 Warsaw PAP in English 0029 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 23—Poland's Council of Ministers held a meeting here today chaired by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

The premier briefed the Council's members on the course and results of his visit to the Republic of Italy and to the Holy See. He underlined the pope's very deep understanding of Polish problems and a very good atmosphere of talks held with representatives of the Italian Government, businessmen and trade union centrals.

Regulations in Penal Law

The Council of Ministers adopted a draft law on amendment of some of the regulations in the Penal Law. The proposed solutions are in tune with the adopted direction of the reform of the Penal Law and relate to equal responsibility for appropriation of property regardless whether it is state, cooperative or private property. Another change concerns elimination of the institution of social adjustment centres.

Adopted was also a draft amendment law on organization and scope of activity of some supreme and central organs of the state administration.

State-Church relations

The status quo of the State-Church relations, settlement of disputable issues and legal regulation of the situation of the Catholic and other churches as well as of religious unions make the existence of the Office for Religious Affairs headed by (?the) minister redundant. The tasks and competences of the office, still valid, would be taken over by the minister-head of the Office of the Council of Ministers.

Science and Technology Fund

The Council of Ministers accepted Sejm draft law on a plan for a central development fund for science and technology for 1989 which takes into account amendments made in the Budget Law. The draft plan for 1989 assumes that the fund will reach 852.5 trillion zloties, by 85 percent more than last year.

Solidarity Commission Presidium Issues Communique

LD2410215889 Warsaw PAP in English 2034 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] Gdansk, Oct. 24—The Presidium of the Solidarity National Executive Commission (KKW) held a session here today. Lech Walesa's press office sent PAP a communique which said, in part:

"The commission adopted a resolution to promote publications devoted to handicapped people.

"It opposed the naming of a ship owned by the Polish Steamship Company (PZM) after Solidarity.

"The body decided to name new candidates for members of the codification commission, especially for work on the reform of labour legislation.

"The commission adopted a stance on the practices of taking over national property by some employees of state administration, cooperative sector and social organizations. It pointed to the necessity to stop those practices, change binding legal regulations, control this year's cases in detail and with the participation of the prosecutor's office and the Supreme Board of Inspection (NIK), annul all transactions of this type and recover national assets such as land plots, flats, cars and the like, appropriated in this way.

"It also stressed the necessity to take disciplinary measures towards guilty persons and inform public opinion on this."

PZPR Politburo Against Sale of Cooperatives

AU2210212489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Oct 89 p 2

[Statement adopted by the Politburo of the Polish United Workers Party at its 17 October session in Warsaw: "Statement Concerning Cooperatives"]

[Text] The government has placed before the Sejm a bill on changes to the organization and activity of cooperatives. This bill confirms the government's determination to abolish state and cooperative forms of ownership, even in a way that violates the Constitution. Apart from eliminating cooperatives, the bill calls for the sale of the assets accumulated by the cooperatives and its members over many years.

We are firmly opposed to any distribution of cooperative property. We consider it our duty to defend the personnel and the assets of cooperatives.

We uphold our stance whereby a cooperative that serves the interests of its members is a essential body. We declare that cooperatives have the right to represent themselves in a form that suits them.

We support the existence of cooperative economic units, service institutions, schools, and health premises that act for the benefit of their members. Members of cooperatives themselves know best what the cooperative movement needs. The congress of cooperatives, scheduled for December this year, is to determine the future of cooperatives.

We believe that all members of cooperatives should be acquainted with the changes that are taking place. These changes should be carried out with their approval and participation.

Defense Spokesman on Army Stockpile Reductions

AU2310210989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Oct 89 p 7

[PAP report on statement made by Lieutenant Colonel Ireneusz Czyzewski, Ministry of National Defense press spokesman: "Army Stockpiles Could Alleviate, But Cannot Not Solve the Market Difficulties"]

[Text] All countries keep stockpiles of foodstuffs, medicines, fuel, and other materials for their defense requirements, stated Lieutenant Colonel Czyzewski. Poland is no different in this respect. The size of these stockpiles depends on many factors; among other things, it depends on the current military doctrine and the economic capability of the given country. In Poland these stockpiles are of such small size that were they to be released to the market, they would not improve the economic situation to a great extent or for any length of time.

The stockpiles of defense materials are state reserves which are held by the appropriate institutions. They are subject to constant renewal. They have been used several times before in situations that can best be described as breakdown situations, in order to temporarily sustain the national economy and the internal market. This is particularly true of fuels and foodstuffs.

A few days ago, the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers made decisions concerning the support of the national economy by releasing to the general market part of these reserves which were originally destined for defense needs. These decisions aroused a great deal of public interest.

Lieutenant Colonel Czyzewski stressed that these decisions were only made after a thorough analysis was carried out by the Ministry of National Defense and the Central Planning Office. We must not forget the continuing process of restructuring in the Army, he said. In harmony with our current military defense doctrine, there are deep changes taking place which are affecting the structure of the armed forces and an ongoing process of a substantial reduction of their size. In light of these processes, the norms and the size of the defense stockpiles can be adjusted accordingly and now allow these to be set at a much lower level than previously.

Adjusting the size of the stockpiles to meet the reduced requirements has allowed the release to the Petroleum Products Center of over 30,000 tonnes of gasoline and 30,000 tonnes of diesel fuel. Turning to foodstuffs, the Ministry of National Defense is releasing from the state reserves the supplies that were destined for the armed forces, namely, products worth some Z74 billion, including, among others, 31,000 tonnes of wheat products, 1,650 tones of assorted grains, 4,500 tones of meat, 2,100 tones of sugar, and a quantity of tea, cigarettes, and matches.

Civilian patient use of army hospitals will also be made more widespread as army numbers are progressively reduced. It was pointed out, by Lieutenant Colonel Czyzewski, however, that this was a very difficult issue, because army hospitals were also currently full to overflowing. Assessing the situation realistically, he said that civilian patient admissions could be increased from the present 30 percent to 40 percent bearing in mind that the Army would have to be compensated for the cost of providing these facilities by the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare. The army hospital in Przemysl will be progressively transferred to total civilian use and this is planned to take place sometime in 1991. As a result of the restructuring, some army field hospitals, originally destined for eventual mobilization purposes, would also be disbanded. As a result of these plans the national health service would be able to utilize medicines and hospital equipment and ancillary articles valued at Z730 million, plus the army field hospital equipment valued at Z12 million. It was also planned to produce for the national health service about 200,000 liters of transfusion and other fluids.

These were only the initial actions. The Army was also offering the possibility of long-term production cooperation. Owing to the reduced demands of the Ministry of National Defense, army production and maintenance and repair enterprise units would now be able to undertake civilian orders on a much wider scale than has been possible hitherto, especially the repair of vehicles, machinery, agricultural equipment, and so forth.

All of these initiatives are in harmony with the principle of our minimum defense capability, and do not weaken the battle readiness of the Army. These undertakings prove that the Army is honestly meeting the challenge of the present economic difficulties. It is feeling the effects of the crisis just as much as the rest of society, and it wishes to make a definite contribution to try to alleviate the effect of these difficulties.

PZPR Building in Gdansk Picketed for Third Day

LD2210182989 Warsaw PAP in English 1730 GMT 22 Oct 89

[Text] Gdansk, Oct. 22—This Sunday was the third day of picketing the district PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] committee building in central Gdansk by a group of youngsters of the Fighting Solidarity, the Movement of Alternative Society, and a group DYM (Smoke).

They fastened streamers to the building walls on which were slogans demanding the PUWP district committee to move into the building of the PUWP voivodship (provincial) committee, leave their rooms to a shelter for the homeless, and they wanted the PUWP to leave factories.

A few days earlier local paper GLOS WYBRZEZA reported on plans to relocate the district committee to the provincial committee's building. The one it is now housed in is not PUWP property but belongs to the city council.

Labor Organizations Launch Protest Actions

LD2410215589 Warsaw PAP in English 2025 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 24—Some 400 labour organizations affiliated to the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ, are taking part in a protest action staged all over the country.

The protest confirms an urgent need for talks with the government on signing a new social agreement. Trade unionists protest against the drastically deteriorating living standards and price hikes.

The action, carried out in a peaceful atmosphere, does not cause work stoppages.

KPN Activists Seize PZPR, ZSMP Offices

LD2610104489 Warsaw PAP in English 0102 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 25—Activists of the Confederation for Independent Poland KPN began occupation of PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Provincial Committee building in Lublin, south-eastern Poland, where they occupy the entrance hall and a small conference room.

They demand giving the building to health service and want an office downtown for the KPN. A similar action has been undertaken by the KPN in Bydgoszcz where they seized the office of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] youth union's town board.

The main board of the ZSMP strongly protested against this and appealed to the KPN men for giving up their action.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 11-17 Oct

AU2210155289

[Editorial report] Polish press monitored from 12 to 18 October reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (source, date and page of each report given in parenthesis):

Leszek Miller and Janusz Reykowski attended a meeting of the Coordinating Committee of the 8 July Movement in Warsaw on 11 October. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Oct 89 p 2)

Zbigniew Michalek and Gabriela Rembisz attended a meeting of the programmatic team of the Central Congress Commission on 16 October. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Oct 89 pp 1, 2)

Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki received Abd al-Rahman Ibrahim al-Huti, Kuwaiti minister of public works and housing, on 11 October. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Oct 89 p 2) He received Stanislaw Dabrowa, Polish ambassador to Sweden, on 12 October. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Oct 89 p 2)

President Wojciech Jaruzelski received Alfons Klafkowski and Leonard Lukaszuk, president and vice president of the Constitutional Tribunal, on 12 October. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Oct 89 p 2) He received Zbigniew Karol Porczynski, an emigre Pole who has donated his collection of 400 Old Master paintings to the Polish church, on 16 October. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Oct 89 p 2)

Zbigniew Michalek, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, chaired a meeting of the Central Committee Countryside and Agrarian Policy Commission on 12 October. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Oct 89 p 2) He received DPRK Ambassador Pak Song-am on 16 October. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Oct 89 p 5)

Leszek Miller, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, attended a plenary session of the Rzeszow Voivodship PZPR Committee on 16 October. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Oct 89 p 4)

Marian Orzechowski, Politburo member and chairman of the PZPR Deputies Club, chaired a meeting of this club on 16 October. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Oct 89 p 2)

General Florian Siwicki, Politburo member and minister of national defense, presented medals and diplomas to war veterans and meritorious army officers on 11 October, the eve of Polish Army Day. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Oct 89 p 2) He received U.S. Lieutenant General George Lee Butler from the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff on 16 October, discussing the Polish Army's support for the Polish economy as part of its support for the Mazowiecki Government. (Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 17 Oct 89 p 1)

Wlodzimierz Natorf, Central Committee secretary, received DPRK Ambassador Pak Sang-am on 14 October. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Oct 89 p 3)

Slawomir Wiatr, Central Committee secretary, attented a plenary session of the Siedlce Voivodship PZPR Committee on 15 October. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Oct 89 p 2) He received DPRK Ambassador Pak Sang-am on 16 October. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Oct 89 p 2)

Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski met with Hans-Jochen Vogel, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, on 11 October. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Oct 89 p 2) He attended talks with Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson on 13 October. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14-15 Oct 89 p 2)

Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak chaired a conference of the leadership of the Interior Ministry on 16 and 17 October, discussing structural changes to the ministry and its current tasks. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Oct 89 p 2)

Harvest Yields 'Fine Outputs' for Farmers

AU2110163789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0908 GMT 21 Oct 89

["Meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 21/10/1989—The Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], which gathered on October 20 under the chairmanship of RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, examined a report on the balances of the major farm produce in the 1989 crops, considering that fine outputs had been harvested, of cereals in particular.

The party general secretary showed that the fine crops of the ongoing year provided for the allocation of far larger amounts of wheat and corn to cooperative farmers there were more than 1,000 kgs of cereals per cooperative farmer and his family, that is a total number of six million people. Out of that quantity, 200 kg wheat and 300 kg corn cobs will go to each cooperative farmer's dependent, the rest being distributed to cooperative members in terms of their performance and contribution to production-making.

At the same time, it was pointed out that the high cereal crops and the plant output as a whole of soy beans, sunflower, sugar beet, vegetables, potatoes, fruit and grapes provided, in broad lines, the conditions for an appropriate supply of the whole population with foodstuffs and met the other requirements of the national economy.

Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that all those successes were a result of state investment in agriculture to boost the productive potential of land and to expand mechanization, to supply high yield seeds and use modern technologies based on the latest advances in science, and of a higher sense of responsibility of workers, cooperative farmers, experts, of all people working in agriculture, of the entire package of measures adopted by the RCP and the Romanian state for the strengthening and development of socialist state and cooperative property, as the sole base of obtaining ever larger productions, on a par with the requirements and targets of the new agrarian revolution.

Appreciating these achievements, the party general secretary urged that most responsible action be taken everywhere to harvest and store the crop, the whole farm output in the best conditions. The food processing units were also urged to properly process the agricultural produce, which calls for a greater mobilization of the food industry research effort in order to increase the yields and eliminate waste, to improve the quality of all food products.

In consideration of the very fine results of the entire agricultural year, the Executive Political Committee decided to celebrate harvest day on October 29.

During the same meeting, the Executive Political Committee analyzed the programme for self-management and self-sufficiency of foodstuffs and industrial consumer goods in 1990. The programme bespeaks a steady concern for the population's fine supply.

The necessary resources for the fulfillment of all the provisions of the self-sufficiency programme for 1990 were shown to exist. The amounts envisaged ensure substantial growths of all products as against 1989. For the agricultural year spanning October 1, 1989- September 30, 1990 substantial growths are envisaged in the case of meat and meat preparations and fish and fish preparations, which top by far world calory consumption norms, as well as the provisions of the programme for scientific, rational nutrition.

The programme makes provision for the daily supply according to schedule of meat and meat preparations in terms of both quantity and quality, and their good distribution to Bucharest's districts and shops, to worker centers and towns. Furthermore, the range of cooked food will be broadened and its quantity increased.

The programme also provides for rises in the amounts of milk, fresh dairy products, cheese and butter for the market stock. The programme also ensures larger amounts of edible oil and sugar, on the basis of the measures the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP endorsed recently. Furthermore, the volume of sugar products, candies, khalva and pastry products will increase. The programme also provides for the improvement of the quality of bread and the diversification of bread types, as well as for substantial growths in the amounts of vegetables, potatoes, fruit and grapes, canned vegetables and fruit, and others.

For the population's supply with manufactures the programme envisages corresponding amounts of commodities in a diversified range.

At the same time, the volume of services to the population will grow.

The Executive Political Committee stressed that the fulfillment of the provisions of the self-management and self-sufficiency programme called for an active participation of working people in industry and agriculture to increase production and improve its quality, a growing responsibility of people's councils, of all economic units for a good supply of the population, in line with the general targets of the Romanian party and state policy which gives priority to a higher general standard of living and a better quality of life.

Approving of the programme for self-management and self-sufficiency of foodstuffs and industrial consumer goods for 1990, the Executive Political Committee decided that it should be submitted for debate to the plenary meeting of the party's CC and then to the Grand National Assembly.

The Executive Political Committee also analyzed a report on the proceedings of the general meetings for reports and elections of the basic organizations. The report shows that, in line with the provisions of the resolution of the plenary meeting of the CC of the RCP, report and election meetings were held in all the 59,554 basic party organizations. The almost 3,800,000 party members, who attended the meetings, voiced the unanimous will of the whole party and people to reelect Nicolae Ceausescu to the highest office of party general secretary at the fourteenth congress.

The participants in the debates expressed their full approval of the draft programme-directive on Romania's socioeconomic development in the five-year plan period spanning 1991-1995 and the guidelines until the years 2000-2010, as well as the theses for the fourteenth congress of the RCP, programmatic documents which open further prospects for Romania's progress and flowering, for the continuous rise in the whole people's welfare, materially and spiritually.

The report and election meetings were one more proof of our party's unity, strength and vigor, the capacity of its organizations to mobilize the working masses to carry the party policy into effect, the close cohesion and unity of communists, of all people around the party, around its General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu.

The meetings were attended by more than 98 per cent of the total number of party members, and at them over 500,000 communists took the floor to make more than 370,000 proposals for a better organization of production and work, an improvement of the organizational and political-educative activity, the settlement of problems of social and public interest.

In the election of the bureaus of base organizations, of conference delegates, and in the designation of candidates for the next higher party bodies, the party statute and CC of the RCP instructions were strictly observed. In almost all base organizations the number of nominations was larger than the number of offices.

Special attention was paid to the application of the provisions for the renewal of at least one-third of the number of members of party bodies. Roughly 45 per cent of the total communists elected to the bureaus of the basic organizations have been promoted to those bodies only recently.

At the same time, criteria were observed concerning the social composition of the new party bodies. Of the 375,856 members of the bureaus of the party organizations, 49.6 per cent are workers, 15.3 per cent are farmers, 28.7 per cent are intellectuals and clerks, and 6.4 per cent are pensioners and housewives. Firmer action was also taken to increase women's weight in the newly-elected party bodies, 39.1 per cent of the total members of the bureaus of basic organizations being women.

The Executive Political Committee asked the county, city, town and commune party committees to take steps for a good organization and holding of the respective party organization conferences in order that they may discuss thoroughly, with a high sense of responsibility what action should be taken for the fulfillment of the tasks for 1989 and the five-year period, and the 1991-1995 local socioeconomic development plans, for the firm translation into fact of the party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu's instructions and orientations, and for new and important achievements in all the fields of socialist construction in Romania in preparation for the great Romanian communists' forum.

Interior Ministry Limits Receipt of Parcels

AU1910135889 Frankfurt/Main
FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 19 Oct 89

[Text of letter from Romanian Interior Ministry to customs authorities, making receipt of parcels from the West more difficult: "Bucharest Limits Receipt of Parcels"]

[Text] The following letter from the Romanian Interior Ministry to the customs authorities, translated from the Romanian language, shows how the Romanian Government is trying to make it more difficult to receive parcels from the West:

"Socialist Republic of Romania

Ministry of the Interior

no 707095, dated 10 August 1989

file no VI/8

confidential

To the

General Management of the Customs Administration

Republicii Road 16

District 1, Bucharest

Comrade Director General,

As we have learned, the delivery of packages from abroad—from the United States, France, Austria, and from the FRG in particular (Neckermann, Otto, Quelle companies, etc.)—has increased recently.

This is to inform you that your customs offices do not always observe the regulations on the delivery of packages to Romanian citizens and that the degree of relationship with the foreign sender is not consistently examined.

As we already pointed out in our letter of 16 February 1988, whose content was made known to all customs offices and post offices in the whole country, the delivery of packages from abroad is only permitted if the packages are sent by close relatives.

The recipient has to produce evidence of the degree of relationship and confirm that he does not possess any foreign currency. If he possesses foreign currency, the customs fees must be paid in foreign currency. According to Decree 863 of the Romanian Communist Party, priests and their family members must produce a permit from the culture department.

Packages for members of religious communities who, in accordance with the law on religious matters, amended by normative documents in 1969, 1972, and 1986, have not received permission for their religious observance—see enclosure—are stamped "notified—did not collect package" and returned to the sender.

The resolutions of the Central Committee of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front of 15 April 1989 must be observed accordingly.

With comradely greetings.

stamp, signature

SCINTEIA Advocates Noninterference

AU1710201689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1835 GMT 17 Oct 89

["Non-Interference in Home Affairs, Respect of National Independence and Sovereignty—Basic Requisite for Normal Interstate Links"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 17/10/1989—Romania takes the view that the international life continues contradictory complex and grave, considering latest developments which are indicative of the stronger will of the people to develop freely, according to their own interests and aspirations as well as of the manifest policy of interference in other states' home affairs, a commentary of the daily SCINTEIA of October 17 shows and underscores inter alia: The contradiction is outrageous. The assertion of a new policy, of a new way of thinking requires, as Romania points out, the strict observance of the principles of national independence and sovereignty, fully equal rights, non-interference in home affairs and mutual advantage in interstate relationships, the complete renunciation of the policy of force, the respect of each people's right to decide freely and sovereignly on its problems, to organize its life as its wishes. These are principles which, by joint efforts including socialist Romania's contribution were sanctioned by international documents, inclusive of the Helsinki Final Act, of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Recently the obvious attempts of some political circles to disregard the norms of relations, to violate the principles of noninterference in home affairs, national independence and sovereignty can but meet with disapproval. The latest example are the hostile actions of interference in GDR's home affairs.

These are provocative actions organized against the GDR, an independent and sovereign state, which exclusively serve the revanchist, revisionist and chauvinistic forces interested in a return to the past, in the promotion of obscure aims to change realities that are historically constituted in the continent. Romania has rejected most firmly suchlike actions running counter to the principles of the Helsinki Final Act to the basic norms of the international law.

The aforementioned actions are obviously anti-socialist and anti-communist, meant to destabilize the situation in the socialist countries, to make them give up the basic principles of socialism, the revolutionary gains of the worker class, of the respective peoples, to turn back to capitalism. Facts show that reactionary circles consider probably that it is a propitious moment to take advantage of the documents endorsed by the all-European meeting of Vienna and interfere in other states' home affairs, step up their anti- socialist action, against peoples' independence, disregarding facts in Europe and the world over in general. It is easy to see that such actions which recall the cold war period of sad memory are in fact attempts to spin back the wheel of history, to stop the irreversible process of advance to socialism.

The so-called thesis of "European conciliation" is used as a pretext for the recrudescence of the anti-socialist and anti-communist policies pursued by some political forces in the West, which overly resort to inadmissible practices of interference in other states' home affairs, in various forms which are most harmful from the arrogation of the right to give advice and make recommendations, offer recipes for the organization of the socio- economic life, including calls to returning to capitalist forms pertaining to the reintroduction of the market economy, down to open diversion and provocation.

It is quite obvious that the arsenal of destabilizing means used by the imperialist circles also includes substantial funds given in the form of credits or even "donations" to help a passage to the market economy and the reprivatization of the chief material production sectors, generally for renunciation of the achievements of socialism. Practically speaking, government circles in a number of Western countries seem to compete in making ever more attractive offers, in fluttering the perspective of "preferential regimes" of cooperation, also involving international financial institutions on one condition: to leave the way of socialist development. Paradoxically, at such a moment, so marked by the ideological offensive of anti-socialist forces, some ignoring reality speak about a "disideologization of international relations" as a demand of peaceful coexistence. But peaceful coexistence among nations does not mean ideological coexistence as the circles hostile to socialism have proved over the time. And a defensive attitude of capitulation only encourages the attempts to destabilize and undermine socialism.

Profoundly attached to the principles of peaceful coexistence, Romania also rejects categorically the policy of

interference in the domestic affairs of other states. This position of Socialist Romania not only that it does not mean renunciation of the policy of broad international collaboration, but it also entails development of ties with all states, including the capitalist ones, on the basis of equality, noninterference in internal affairs rejecting any condition, any capitulation or concession that harms socialism, or the cause of national independence and sovereignty.

In Romania's opinion, the new principles of relations make up a unitary whole as they cannot be partially approached and all the less so they oppose one to another. One does not need thorough analyses and historical incursions to demonstrate, for instance, that the violation of one of these principles implicitly means the violation of all the others.

Romania has also underscored that the sphere of action of the new principles is universal, that it cannot be limited only to the relations among states with differing social systems. In this respect, the socialist countries play a primordial role and, considering the nature of the system they are building, they are called upon to offer an example of relations underlain by strict observance of these principles. In Romania's opinion, an example should be consistency and firmness in promoting them, full accordance between words and deeds, between the enunciation of consecrated norms, on the one hand, and their consistent observance in the practice of mutual relationships, on the other.

The course of international life proves that only in such a way, only by strictly observing these norms of relations, by categorically rejecting any attempt to disconsider or violate them, to interfere in the internal affairs of other states can a new democratic policy assert itself, can a climate of understanding and peace be established worldwide. The establishment of such new-type relations as one of the major demands of the present day international life allows all nations to develop freely and independently, favors an equitable solution of the major problems of our days in the general interest. Only a world in which the new principles are fully and strictly observed just as the sacred right of each nation to self-reliantly decide on the questions concerning it, without any outside interference can actually be a world of peace, security and confidence among peoples. For such a world, for such relations does Romania speak up and unflinchingly militates, convinced that this is a highly significant imperative that meets mankind's interests and aspirations.

SCINTEIA Rejects Multiparty System

AU1810185689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1620 GMT 18 Oct 89

[" "Building of A New Social System With the People and For the People"—Article in SCINTEIA of 18 October, 1989 (Excerpts)"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 18/10/1989—The Romanian Communist Party [RCP] has paid special attention to the ensurance of a broad democratic framework for the whole people's active participation in the vast work of building socialism to provide conditions for the passage to the higher stage of the communist society.

In this respect, a more marked tendency in the general evolution of the political system in Romania is the close interaction of the party activity with the state activity, the activity of democratic and social self-management bodies, in the process of the exercise of people's power by the people itself. Highly important in this respect are President Nicolae Ceausescu's recent considerations: "There is still much talk about the relationships between the party and the state, and some people formulate understandable theses like the one which characterized the party as a "state party." Our party has never been a state party. The Romanian Communist Party emerged as a party of the working class and remained a revolutionary party of the working class." As the RCP general secretary put it, communist parties have to organize the struggle for the abolition of oppression, to ensure the building of a world without capitalists, without oppressors.

In the future, our socialist state will acquire new functions traits and attributions. Planning, management and organization of various sectors and compartments of society will be improved. In step with the deepening collaboration between state organs and bodies of the revolutionary worker democracy the state will turn into a new democratic organism.

The interaction between the activity of party bodies and the activity of mass and public organizations, of the bodies of the socialist democracy and worker self-management is an essential condition for the state and also the party to exercise their functions, for the rise in the efficiency of the social management system as a whole.

This interaction does not at all diminish the activities and functions specific to each body politic. The party, the state, the other democratic organisms which blend their activities have their own organizational structures, tasks and attributions in the unitary management of the socialist society.

The Romanian socialist state is the only institution invested with public power, which takes various forms of manifestation from legislative administrative authority, to means of education, conviction to attain its goals. The party, the leading political force of our entire society, traces the strategic and political line of the country, outlines the general targets of the activity of all component parts of the national political system and the state is the major instrument in their implementation.

Unitary in essence and working in close interdependence, under the party leadership, all political and mass bodies and organizations are, in the socialist society, forms of the masses' access to and participation in the

effective exercise of power. Thus, in the last twenty years, a passage was made to worker self-management and self-administration, general assemblies were institutionalized, county and national councils were set up and congresses of people working in industry, agriculture, in science and education, instruction and culture fields were organized periodically to make decisions on basic problems of the socio-economic activity.

In the revolutionary worker democracy system of Romania today, the leading political role of the Romanian Communist Party, the vital centre of the nation, has steadily strengthened, being the force apt to lead the people in its vast and complex work of building the new social system, owing to its membership and structure, to its revolutionary ideology.

The RCP also considers that the thesis regarding a return to the multi-party system in socialism is completely wrong and harmful as it paves the way for a comeback to the anachronical forms of the capitalist political system. As the theses for the 14th Party Congress underline, in the new conditions created after the disappearance of exploiting classes, the existence of a single party of the working class and the consolidation of the people's unity around the party is an objective historical demand. The broad system of socialist democracy provides full opportunities and a proper framework for the working people's freedom of opinion, for the effective participation of all social categories in the elaboration of the country's home and foreign policy, in governing society.

The transition in the next decade to the second, higher stage in the building of the multilaterally developed socialist society in this country equally poses new exigencies to the one-party political system. The masses' democratic participation in exercising state power, in running society, in applying the basic principle of building socialism with the people and for the people implies steady improvement. The powerful development of production forces, the improvement of production and social relations, the achievement of a new quality of work and life, the full assertion of human personality provide conditions for the consolidation of the revolutionary worker party, for all citizens' active and efficient participation in the management of society, in the consistent implementation of the party's ideological programme.

The consolidation of socialist property, the intensified cooperation between the two forms of socialist property people's and cooperative ensure the framework for a more active participation of the working class, of peasantry and intelligentsia in the government of the socialist society, in an ever more sensible administration of all the resources available in economic, social and cultural units and their highly efficient use.

In the RCP's opinion, the growth of the economic and social life requires the management of society in a unitary conception. The renunciation of the management of socioeconomic development on the basis of a single plan can but lead to the disorganization of activity, to the emergence of contradictions with serious repercussions on the socialist society. The unitary management of economic and social activities in accordance with a single national plan ensures an intertwining of the interests of each collectivity with the general interests of society as well as the purposeful application of economic laws in keeping with the social and economic conditions in each country.

'Democratic Leadership' Must Improve

AU2010214489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1543 GMT 20 Oct 89

["The Socialist Society—A Society of Social Justice and Equality—Article in the October 20 Issue of Daily SCINTEIA—(Excerpts)"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 20/10/1989—It is a fundamental truth, confirmed by life and history, that in the Romanian socialist society all the great political acts of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] and the Romanian state, of the country's president are endorsed by the whole people. Everything that makes up Socialist Romania's present was achieved with the people and for the people. Everything that will be added from now on to the material and spiritual national heritage, will also be done with the people and for the people. It is upon this truth that rests the unitary outlook of the party and of the whole Romanian nation on ensuring the country's multilateral progress.

The revolutionary, scientific outlook of the RCP, fully validated by the social practice, attaches outstanding importance to the people's democratic participation in governing the society. As stressed in the theses for the 14th Congress of the RCP, this revolutionary idea does not run counter to the growing role of the party as vital centre. On the contrary, it consolidates this role. The theses show: "The continuation of the revolutionary process turns the existence of the single party of the working class, the strengthening of its leading political role, the broad development of its organic links with the people, with the other bodies of revolutionary worker democracy into objective necessities of socialist construction".

The people's participation in running the state, in the settlement of all problems of the country has already become a natural fact in our socialist society. Active forms have been instituted, that increase the masses' participation in the whole economic, social and political life. From the councils of working people and the general meetings of owners, producers and end-users, in socio-economic units, up to congresses and national conferences by branches of activity, a wide range of concrete modalities ensure the actual application of the truth that socialism is built with the people for the people.

As shown in the program-like documents for the 14th congress, the deep-going qualitative changes in the system of the national economy, in all domains of social life entail the active participation of the whole people. But now, more than in any of the previous stages, neither

the economic growth nor the development of society in general can be achieved with utmost efficiency unless the steady improvement of the concrete forms and modalities of democratic leadership is ensured. As a matter of fact the idea clearly comes to the fore from the theses that the socialist democracy is not a question in itself. For, democracy cannot be divorced from the economic growth nor can it be from the development of science, education and culture and from the intensification of the political-educative activity.

A fundamental cause of the superiority of our revolutionary-worker democracy over any other democracy is the fact that it rests upon the socialist ownership, the value of which is unitary, all-embracing and indivisible. For this reason, the capitalist ideology chooses to address itself to the etymology of the world democracy, shunning several questions of political and economic nature. To make an in-depth analysis of the content of democracy at the level of a society means first to answer a few fundamental questions: Who holds in fact the political power? Who owns the productive means? To what extent do the masses participate in governing the state, the society also after the voting stations, in the everyday life? Any talk about democracy remains superficial in the absence of an in-depth analysis of these questions.

Never in history has bourgeoisie made a global approach to these questions. Bourgeoisie has generally based the concept of "equality" on political abstractionism. Earlier doctrines, that made the source of the known slogan of the French Revolution "liberty, equality, fraternity", started from an abstract man and from abstract, formal rights. For, to promote equality of rights in a society divided into antagonistic classes, into rich and poor, where socio-economic inequality is a structural reality, undoubtedly means to change the right into fiction.

The new bourgeois doctrines have proved to be more "subtle". They start from genetics and promote the idea that the relations of inequality are characteristic to any living system. It has been on this basis that has been reactuated the old concept that considers the economic and social inequality as...natural. But the capitalist ideology does not leave the "unequal" ones hopeless. They are left the "equality of opportunities." The struggle proceeds in unequal conditions though. Those who are born rich have the first "opportunity"...even if they are lazy, even if they are inept. While the poor experience the bitter taste of the truth that unemployment, hence the loss of the right to work, most often is tantamount to losing the reason of living.

Present-day capitalist ideology carefully "circumvents" these aspects. Life, history show that the capitalist society does not have the ability, precisely because of the fact that the riches are in the possession of a few, to settle the economic, social, political issues facing the working people, the nations. But this reality is insistently "covered" by misleading propaganda. The "virtues" of capitalism are exalted, concomitant with the slandering of the socialist ideals and of the realities of socialism. A "blurring" is pursued of the basic differences between socialism and capitalism, as well as a "reversal" of realities that emphasize the superiority of socialism in conditions in which the essence of the capitalist society is the private ownership on the means of production, the inequality, the injustice. Moreover, a powerful offensive has been started these last few years in order to burke the very essence of capitalism, with the concealed purpose to ensure the perpetuation of the old economic and social relations of exploitation and oppression. This means in fact "ostrichism". For, if the capitalist ideology strives to renounce the concept of "social class" it does not mean that classes do not exist and do not oppose one another. Just the same, if new "criteria" of singling out the social groups and their position in society are proposed, this does not mean that differentiations are not made in fact, contingent upon their position vis-a-vis the means of production.

The RCP's outlook, based on the principles of scientific socialism and confirmed by history, by life, upholds that equitable economic relations alone can bring about full equality among people. In our socialist society, equality of all citizens without any distinction except one determined by the efforts and achievements in the work process is a fact. In the Romanian socialist society, democracy, is not only expressed in the constitution, in other laws, but is has turned into everyday reality. Today, a powerful system of management with the people and for the people is being developed in Romania. The harmonious, balanced interaction of direct democracy and representative democracy in this system provides for the participation of all working people, of the entire nation in the elaboration and implementation of the home and foreign policy of the party, of the state.

Exploiting classes and exploitation were eradicated forever in Romania. Social and national inequalities disappeared. The state itself has acquired a new content, becoming a state of working people, of the revolutionary worker democracy. Likewise, democratic bodies were created and improved to make the whole people take an active part in the economic, political and social life. The new democratic organisms, among which congresses and councils at a national level, councils of people working in socio-economic units and general assemblies, and the state organs, under the party leadership—as President Nicolae Ceausescu put it—make up "a broad framework for the people's assertion in a, unique way, so that everything that is achieved in our homeland is achieved with the people and for the people".

In the RCP's conception, socialism cannot be envisaged in the absence of a superior democracy, of the whole people's participation in the management of all sectors of activity. To govern with the people and for the people is not only a theoretical concept but a deep-rooted truth in the practice of building the new society. A truth which finds expression in the active presence, the participation of the working class, of the peasantry, of the intelligentsia, of the whole people in the effective management of

economic, scientific, educative, cultural, health units, of all towns and villages, in the elaboration and implementation of the plans and programmes of socio-economic development of the homeland.

As the theses for the 14th congress point out, and social practice confirms, the dynamizing factor of the democratic system in Romania is the RCP. In fact, the party is the vital centre of our entire society. In the system of revolutionary worker democracy, the fact that the people holds the political power is reinforced by the political leading role of the RCP.

Socialism cannot be conceived in the absence of a true revolutionary democracy; nor can socialist democracy be conceived without a strong assertion of the leading role of the single party of the working class, of the whole people. The theses for the 14th congress show: "Our party believes that the resumption of the multiparty system in socialism is wrong and deeply harmful thesis, opening the gates to a return to the worn-out forms of the capitalist political system. Life has proved that under the new circumstances, after the disappearance of the exploiting classes, the existence of a single party of the working class and the strengthened unity of the people round the party is an objective historical necessity. The broad system of socialist democracy offers the working people full opportunities and the framework to freely express their opinions, ensures to all social categories the possibility to effectively participate in mapping out the country's domestic and foreign policy, in governing society."

The socialist relations of ownership, the mighty important role of the producers in society and their position vis-a-vis the production means, the fair distribution of the produce of work are basic traits of the new social system, bespeak the legitimacy of socialism as a way to organize a just and equitable society.

Markovic on Anti-Inflation Talks Abroad, Home

Meets With IMF, World Bank

AU2110215289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14-15 Oct 89 p 13

[Report by special correspondent Slobodan Pavlovic: "Conditioned Support"]

[Excerpt] Washington, 13 Oct—Yesterday, the president of the Federal Executive Council had talks with John Macomber, president of the Ex-Im bank, Barber Conable and Mujin Curisi [name as transliterated], president and vice president of the World Bank respectively, Alan Greenspan, chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserve System, Michel Camdessus, IMF managing director, and finally, Nicholas Brady, U.S. finance minister.

They went on and on, one after another, as on a conveyor belt, and it was easy to guess from their names and functions that this was one of the decisive moments of Markovic's visit, the primary reason for the visit and the focus of the greatest expectations.

What has been achieved and which expectations have been fulfilled?

If one is to conclude from the length of the talks (they all lasted longer than planned) and the fact that some of them will have an unplanned continuation today (the talks with IMF Director Camdessus and his associates), nobody minced their words [razgovaralo se bez rukavica] and—as far as the hosts were concerned—the talks were held from those hard and mostly well- known and long known positions. These positions seemed not to have been much affected by the impressive results the Yugoslav guest presented (foreign exchange reserves amounting to $5.5 billion, the complete external liquidity of the country achieved, and all obligations to creditors—$4 billion in this year—having been repaid regularly, which has reduced the SFRY foreign debt to $16.5 billion).

There was a unity in views about the assessment that these results are undoubtedly showing the light at the end of the tunnel and that the program of economic reform represents the bridge which will (if the rules of the game are strictly complied with and obligations are met) bring Yugoslavia to the other, the desired and peaceful side. However, the support that is needed in this stage of stepping onto that suspension bridge, the "key stage of our economic reform," as Ante Markovic has put it in one of his speeches here, will hardly be manifested in the specific and quick way one had demanded and secretly expected to happen in New York and Washington.

When translated to understandable language, this means that American financial institutions fear the inflationary spiral in Yugoslavia and demand that the inflation is calmed down in order to be able to appear with the transfusion that is counted upon. It was assessed that the IMF and the others (the action has obviously been coordinated with IMF moves) would even agree to have a slow increase in the inflation rate—it is clear both to them and to us that it is impossible to stop the inflation at once—and that the report on October explosion of 48 percent is being received as a serious warning that who knows what may still happen on that front. Hence the demand for a new development program for the next 18-month period which would above all limit consumption and lead to concluding a new "stand-by" arrangement with the IMF. It was also reproached that our country does not have a plan with a markedly anti-inflationary effect. [passage omitted]

Grants Interview to PBS

AU2410190389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Oct 89 p 9

[D. Zarkovic report on interview with Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, by Judy Woodruff of the U.S. television network PBS: "Next Year On Our Own Feet"—date not given]

[Text] Washington, 17 Oct—The 10-minute interview which Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, granted to the U.S. public television network (PBS) graphically illustrates the essence of his visit, and, even more so, U.S. ideas about us, about processes in Europe, and the world we live in.

Two of these ideas will also be sensed by our readers. The first one boils down to the fact the Americans see themselves as a "rich uncle" and that they are very surprised when somebody comes here without crying for money. The other one illustrates a quite logical readiness of the public to identify itself with the events that contain the elements of a spectacle.

Therefore, in view of the fact that Yugoslavia is not the battlefield of spectacular changes in the sphere of politics—which would excite the public here, as Poland and Hungary did—it is quite clear why our delegation last week found itself confronted with a very delicate task of "coming out of the shadow." It is simply not easy to convince the public here that "we can go fishing by ourselves." This is what Ante Markovic said during the news conference in Washington. It is even more difficult to convince them that the process of democratic reforms in Yugoslavia is something more than the current breakthroughs in other East European countries.

Between Two Conversations

However, it was worth trying to prove that Yugoslavia is not asking for money, but for partnership, "help in fishing," and that changes in the country's political system are a way towards a new quality in not only democratic relations, but also in the certainty and size of the profit.

Thanks to the professional understanding of the colleagues from the PBS—the program of this network is very influential and is viewed all over the United States by the section of the public whose experiences of television are not just watching football games with a can of

cold beer—your correspondent was present during the recording of this interview. The interview was conducted between Markovic's talk with President George Bush and his meeting with Secretary of State James Baker. It was recorded in the Yugoslav Embassy building in Washington. When the president of the Federal Executive Council returned from the White House everything was ready, cameras, microphones, lights.... In the background there was a piano with two pictures of Tito, one from his partisan days, the other from a more recent time.

"What was the upshot of your talk with President Bush?"—this was the first question asked by journalist Woodruff

[Markovic] The talk with President Bush was not only cordial but also substantive. The upshot would be that we are participants in extraordinary, fascinating, dramatic events in the world and that we should interpret the messages of these events correctly.

[Woodruff] What in particular do you want from the United States, and why did you come now, what is the purpose of your visit?

[Markovic] This visit is taking place at the right, optimal time, because the developments in the world are creating the prerequisites for a new quality in mutual relations, especially between the United States and Yugoslavia. We have fully embark on reforms which should change the system. Changes in the system are the most difficult part of all reforms.

At present, Yugoslavia is undergoing the kind changes which we are interested in presenting to the United States so the U.S. business could see its opportunities. At the same time we see our opportunities in the transfer of technology and training for a more productive way of conducting business operations.

[Woodruff] What kind of support do you expect from the U.S. business world?

[Markovic] We have not come here for money at all. In fact, we have been saying that the development in our relations has reached the "crucial point" which now permits a new quality in relations. How much will the business world from here invest in, say, our banks—which can be now founded as mixed banks with foreign capital—or in our enterprises or independent foreign enterprises, is up to every individual businessman.

We need support in the key transformation of the system. This means that we must no longer finance the new system's institutions in an inflationary way, but out of a real income. This means that we should first of all resolve the problem of all deficits. Finding a solution to this problem should be supported by the international financial institutions of some country. This is needed for a new development cycle which should bring about a more efficient and modern economy, and solve various social problems.

In the Interest of Business

[Woodruff] Why would the U.S. and international business in general help Yugoslavia?

[Markovic] First of all because this would be in their interest. We are currently undergoing major structural changes in which one needs to assume a position. Who does this now, will in the future be able to take part in what will be happening in the economy of our country. This means that he will be able to make a profit.

On other hand, international institutions must be interested in Yugoslavia because Yugoslavia is playing an important role in the world, because it is a forerunner, because it has done more than anybody else in the reforms concerning a transformation from one system to another, and because it has the best chance of completing this transformation.

They should also be interested in Yugoslavia because of its influence in the world, because of its geographical position, and because it is one of the leading nonaligned countries, because it will be the chairman of the Nonaligned Movement in the next 3 years. This is why the stability and prosperity of Yugoslavia is in the interest of the whole world.

[Woodruff] By looking at East Europe today we do not only see economic but also political reforms. Let us for instance consider Poland and Hungary as an example. They are moving away from the formula of the communist rule. Can one expect something similar in your country?

[Markovic] I think that what we are doing in our country is much more profound than what is happening in other socialist countries. They must all go through the maturity period to carry out changes of the system itself, including all its components. None of these countries has embarked on changes in the system.

We have already embarked on these changes. It took us 30 years to do that. I would not, however, like to predict how long it will take others to do it. One cannot skip any stage of development, one can try to jump over them and speed them up, but they cannot be skipped. We have embarked on a process which is so deep that it cannot only represent economic changes, but also profound social and political changes, changes that are not superficial.

[Woodruff] Some Americans are wondering how you can carry out the economic reform—reflected in a free market—while retaining the one party, the communists system of rule?

[Markovic] We are not under the one party, the communist system of rule. We separated the party from the state a few years ago. As president of the government, I am only accountable to the SFRY Assembly and nobody else.

[Woodruff] But the influence of the communist party is enormous. Are you turning toward founding independent political parties?

[Markovic] Changes in our country represent a process which will, through a pluralism of rule, lead to political pluralism.

[Woodruff] How do you see changes in East Europe?

[Markovic] We are very pleased with the processes that are taking place in Hungary, Poland, and the USSR....We support these processes. These processes are the processes which we ourselves started through our emancipation some 40 years ago. However, one should not have any illusions that this process of reforms which these countries have embarked on is a short process. There are many difficulties and risks on that road.

We Are Already At the End of That Process...

[Woodruff] Are you suggesting that we here are overexcited by the changes in these countries?

[Markovic] No. I would not want to judge your feelings. As a man, a realist who has lived in socialism and went through all details of the process of reforms in one country, I would only like to point to some difficulties on this road, ranging from those that concern the system as a whole to those that concern its various parts: the state apparatus, the Army, and the economy which has learned to operate according to a plan and in which the people, their views and perceptions are developing according to this plan....These are big changes that cannot be implemented overnight, even if somebody had ordered their implementation.

They can only be achieved through a process. This is what I want to draw your attention to. Otherwise, one should welcome all positive processes.

[Woodruff] If somebody asked you whether Yugoslavia is moving toward a multiparty system, what would you say?

[Markovic] Listen, Yugoslavia has already started moving in this direction. I have already said what other countries ought to expect. We are already at the end of that process. If reason prevails and there is sufficient support for the final stage of the reform which we have been implementing for some years, Yugoslavia will have a chance of standing on its feet next year.

[Woodruff] I would like to ask you again why some people in this country think that Yugoslavia is now slower than Poland and Hungary in moving toward democratic politics?

[Markovic] This is your assessment. I think that they are nowhere near to what we have achieved. One should not look at things superficially.

[Woodruff] Considering these trends in Europe, how long will, in your opinion, the reasons for dividing Europe into East and West exist?

[Markovic] We are witnessing significant changes in Europe. On the one hand we have integration, while on the other disintegration. Both processes are the result of the need for a modern development and progressive changes in the world. Having doubts about the future would be very dangerous for all of us. I am not saying this because I am a professionally biased optimist, but because I really think that Europe is moving in a positive direction and that it will contribute to the stabilization of relations in the world and peaceful development.

Cites 'Lack of Feeling' at Home

AU1910194189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Oct 89 p 2

[Gordana Gojak commentary: "Ambush at the Welcome Party"]

[Text] "Nothing was said during talks with representatives of the IMF about any special anti-inflationary program, nor did the IMF demand such a program from us." Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, decisively said on his return to our country from the United States in answer to questioning from two journalists in a row on a specific short-term program of anti-inflationary measures allegedly being demanded in the United States. Even then—after an introductory speech by Markovic to Yugoslav journalists at special news conference at Zagreb airport—Markovic answered this with surprise in the following way: I do not know where you got that from because we did not talk about this in the States at all in the way in which you are asking.

In this respect, he said that because he was very busy, he could not see, let alone read our press reports on his visit, but he therefore told the journalists that nothing new was established there that was not already well-known as the program that the Federal Executive Council had presented to the SFRY Assembly, adding: "But you (journalists, editorial note) at least know that the whole program of the Federal Executive Council is of anti-inflationary significance."

This question about an anti-inflationary program with which Markovic was immediately greeted after leaving the airplane best illustrates the entire atmosphere in which the adoption and necessary implementation of the reform program is taking place in our country. This is because it expresses all the "ignorance" and even lack of feeling for the program as the way out of the crisis which this Federal Executive Council, headed by Ante Markovic, is attempting to implement, which is something in which some journalists are not lacking either. And why not openly say that some people continue to be deaf to all the numerous opinions and analytical explanations that the proposed program represents the needed measures for a way to get out of this crisis of ours which has such a destructive rate of inflation. And while the general

director of the IMF sincerely admitted at the start of talks with the president of the Federal Executive Council (last Thursday afternoon) that he was not sufficiently versed on the problems that were being discussed and asked for "time out" in order to study the Yugoslav material, he was ready to continue the talks the following afternoon, which, as is now well-known, resulted in a complete acceptance of the program that our government put forward. Many people in the country have never managed to express this admission, but instead unjustified criticism and comments have rained down.

We cite this not only to illustrate Markovic's words that before his arrival in the United States it was not sufficiently well-known that everything that Yugoslavia is doing on the domestic and foreign political stage is progressive, but above all because the "head" person of the IMF needed only a night and half a day to understand the reforming program of the Federal Executive Council. Let us add that the other negotiation partners, led by the United States President Bush, needed less than 1 hour to do the same thing (since this was not a question of specific details to explain certain financial difficulties), however the several months since this Federal Executive Council took office has not been enough for us in Yugoslavia to do this.

How else can one explain the fact that since his inaugural speech as candidate for the president of the Federal Executive Council, the head of government Ante Markovic has constantly been explaining his reforming program but it has in no way been "understood" let alone accepted as a whole with its specificities. Were it otherwise, then obviously not even the president of the federal government would have been greeted in this country with such a tendentious question concerning which measures are specifically contained in the short-term anti-inflationary program which was demanded of him by the IMF experts? While a total of 4 days was enough for Americans to do a great turn around in their thinking about the direction Yugoslavia is going in to resolve its crisis and the way it is doing this, this is unfortunately not the case in many of our heads—and this is not accidental.

It seems to be easier to play dumb, "not to know" what is wanted, criticize, and propose nothing new that has not already been seen and paid for both with high inflation and social differences. Indeed, it is already more than obvious that this and similar behavior is not to the advantage and well-being of Yugoslav society but is only a futile but very expensive "ping-pong" match devoid of personal responsibility at the cost of another reduction in Yugoslavia's standing in the eyes of the world. This leads to the regrettable claim that it seems that the time has come (still unprecedented in this region) that we are comprehended and understood more quickly by the world than by ourselves in our own "home."

Receives World Bank Officials

LD2410194589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1528 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—In the Palace of the Federation today Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, received Dr Stanley Fischer, a vice president in the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Aleksandar Mitrovic, vice president of the Federal Executive Council , and Branimir Zekan, federal secretary of finance, also took part in the conversation.

Markovic and Fischer stressed their mutual interest in cooperation between Yugoslavia and the World Bank being promoted and expanded during the ensuing period. Fischer expressed the willingness of the World Bank to back up the program of the economic stabilization of Yugoslavia by approving the arrangements, and also through the World Bank participation in financing significant projects in Yugoslavia, especially in the area of infrastructure, agriculture, energy and protection of environment.

Meets Executive Councils Presidents

LD2410220689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1739 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—The readjusted federal budget for this year, the draft of which was recently adopted by the Federal Executive Council [FEC], and a number of documents under Assembly consideration, as well as those to be submitted by the FEC soon, were today the main topics at a working meeting between FEC President Ante Markovic and presidents of the executive councils of the assemblies of the republics and provinces. Reference was also made to next year's development and economic policy.

According to the FEC's Information Secretariat, Ante Markovic also reported on his visit to the United States, and on the negotiations with the IMF mission and a World Bank delegation, both of which are currently on a visit to Belgrade. [passage omitted]

Pejkovic To Observe Moscow CEMA Meeting

LD2510220789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1107 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—Branimir Pejkovic, member of the Federal Executive Council and the SFRY's permanent representative to CEMA, left for Moscow today. He is leading the Yugoslav delegation at the 132d meeting of the CEMA Executive Committee.

A number of current issues pertaining to mutual economic cooperation within the CEMA ambit will be discussed during the session. The Yugoslav delegation will be present during the discussion of several important issues of interest to the SFRY, in accordance with the SFRY-CEMA agreement.

Sundic Commentary on GDR Leadership Change

LD2010085989 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Milka Sundic commentary]

[Text] Erich Honecker's departure from the political scene is the logical and expected move of an elderly politician and statesman, but this is not the end of changes in East Europe, which are in full swing, and which, despite the resistance of Berlin officialdom, could not by-pass the GDR. Until yesterday, the prevailing belief regarding that country was that the GDR was a firm bulwark of the East against the West, and hardly anyone believed that its foundations would yield so easily to the new thrusts of perestroyka and glasnost in the Soviet Union, which the GDR authorities led by Honecker energetically resisted.

Everyone could see that the foundations of GDR authority started to crack, and everyone expected Honecker's departure. The mass exodus of East Germans to the West and demonstrations throughout the GDR during the festivities marking the 40th anniversary of its creation, heralded the beginning of the end of an era which has long been stale, whose consequences cannot yet be known. After all, everything that has happened lately in the GDR and which is yet to come concerns the whole of Eastern Euruope and its relations with the West. The GDR is not just a member of the Warsaw Pact; it is also a part of a divided nation, whose open ambition and drive is toward reunification. Of course, it is not possible to achieve this now without jeopardizing the foundations of peace in Europe.

In fact, Honecker's departure is meangingless of itself. Moreover, the tremors shaking one of the firmest bastions of the Warsaw Pact could have a bloody ending, similar to that in Tiananmen Square in Beijing. We should not forget that Berlin considered this, and perhaps still does. We should not forget in the least the fact that in no other socialist state, with the exception of Romania, are there such restraints and control of thought as in the GDR. In the final analysis, the Germans who crossed the Western borders in waves in the last few weeks did not flee from hunger and unemployment, but from the lack of freedom, imposed on them for 40 years by a system which could remain intact only under the conditions of European divisions and confrontations.

True, Honecker made some efforts to fit into European processes of opening, including with the FRG, but these efforts did not include stepping out from the existing framework of East German life. The GDR communists were simply not keeping up with the times, in which national frontiers are diminishing; they still believed in the permanence of the Berlin Wall, behind which there is no life for the GDR citizens and over which nothing could reach them to disturb their dream about a system which has been built for 4 decades on unstable foundations.

The present situation in Europe and the world enables the East Germans to find a way out of the current crisis of confidence in the state and party. However, everything depends on future moves by the leadership, headed by the new leader, and, if there are new moves, how much they will contribute so that the GDR becomes a mirror of the East towards the West without the cracks which are now so obvious.

SFRY-Albanian Economic Cooperation Signed

AU2510172489 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Oct 89 p 2

[Text] The protocol for the first session of the mixed Yugoslav-Albanian Committee for Economic and Scientific Cooperation was signed in Belgrade today. The protocol was signed by Nikola Gasoski, on behalf of the Federal Executive Council, and Farudin Hoxha, minister in the Albanian Government.

Foreign Ministry Denies Planting Bomb in Geneva

LD2610210389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1750 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 26 (TANJUG)—The Foreign Ministry today again denied that Yugoslavia had been involved in any way in the recent planting of a bomb outside the house of Albanian emigree from Kosovo Dzafer Satri in Geneva.

It is evident from the Swiss police report that claims about Yugoslavia's involvement are pure speculation, spokesman Ivo Vajgl said.

Satri heads the S.O.S. committee for Kosovo formed in Switzerland to promote Greater Albanian ideas of an ethnically pure Kosovo, a province within the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, and separatist (?intentions) of Albanian chauvinists. His claim that the unsuccessful assassination attempt was organized by the Yugoslav secret police has been carried by some Swiss papers.

Vajgl recalled that the Yugoslav Embassy in Bern had already issued a denial of Yugoslavia's involvement in the event, adding that he had no further comment.

Slovenia's Sinigoj Visits Austria, Holds Talks

LD2510201889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1919 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Vienna, Oct 25 (TANJUG)—Slovenia is not thinking about seceding from Yugoslavia, premier of that Yugoslav republic Dusan Sinigoj told a press conference in Celovec (Klagenfurt) today.

Sinigoj said that the controversial amendment to the Slovenian Constitution is "an expression of the right to self-determination, human rights and a legal state," adding that this is part of contemporary views, which he said, are also in evidence in other parts of Yugoslavia.

Sinigoj, who was on a day-long visit to the Austrian province of Burgenland, categorically denied reporters' remarks about alleged plans for an intervention of the Yugoslav Armed Forces in Slovenia.

Sinigoj today held talks with Carinthian Governor Joerg Haider on bilateral cooperation in environmental protection, transport and joint projects. They particularly discussed the position of the Slovene national minority in Carinthia.

They agreed to launch a joint project to preserve the drinking water wells, clear air and forests in the Karawanken.

Sinigoj informed Haider that the possibility of the [word indistinct] nuclear power plant being shut down is currently being examined.

Secretary Loncar Visits Tokyo, Holds Talks

Arrives in Tokyo

LD2310144789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1408 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Summary] Tokyo, 23 Oct (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, arrived in Tokyo this afternoon on an official 3-day visit to Japan. He is scheduled to meet the emperor as well as give interviews on TV and to a major newspaper. Japan will certainly also be interested in hearing Loncar's views on the changes in East Europe, though the visit is mainly an opportunity for Yugoslavia to seek greater understanding for its strategy of economic and political reform.

Talks With Ministers

LD2410144489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1337 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] Tokyo, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs, held talks today with Toshiki Kaifu, the prime minister of Japan, and Taro Nakayema, the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs.

[words indistinct] talks were held on bilateral (?relations) and world events. In the process the Japanese side showed marked interest in the most recent political processes in the Eastern European countries.

The Japanese govenment is interested in increasing economic cooperation with Yugoslavia.

Japan will also support Yugoslav demands for greater assistance for its economic reforms, both in the framework of the group of seven western countries, and in the OECD and other international economic forums.

Tribute was also paid to Yugoslavia for the successful organization of the nonaligned summit. Japan expresses its desire for more comprehensive cooperation with the nonaligned movement.

More on Talks

LD2410105289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1615 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] Tokyo, 24 October (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, who has been paying an official visit to Japan since yesterday, today had a meeting with Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu, Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama and other figures in Japan's political and economic life. All these meetings and talks demonstrated both the Japanese interest in the events in Yugoslavia and also the wish of the people Loncar was talking to to hear our evaluations of international events further afield, but especially those in Eastern Europe.

While the meeting with Premier Kaifu was described as "cordial" the talks with Minister Nakayama were called "exhaustive" and the Japanese evinced great interest in Yugoslav reforms and the ways out of the current economic crisis.

Yugoslavia was also given the credit for her successful organization of the nonaligned summit. Japan has noticed "a positive evolution" within the movement. As a result there is greater readiness here to cooperate more directly with them in their strategic actions such as the North-South negotiations, that is to say the dialogue between the developed countries (a group in which Japan is increasingly influential) and the developing countries.

Japanese interest in the events in Eastern Europe has been confirmed by the announcement that as early as the beginning of next year Premier Kaifu will visit Poland and Hungary, the two countries whose internal changes and reforms have been most radical so far. In the light of this interest the people who Federal Secretary Budimir Loncar talked to today (who, in addition to the premier and the foreign minister, also included the chairman of the foreign policy committee of the lower house of the diet) wanted to hear how Yugoslav diplomacy analyzed and evaluated the changes in Eastern Europe. Budimir Loncar spoke about these changes in positive terms. Japan's wider public, or to be more precise, the 8 million readers of ASAHI SHIMBUN will be informed about this in a wide-ranging interview which the federal secretary gave to the paper's foreign editor. The majority of questions referred to the course and achievements of perestroyka in both the USSR and other East European countries. In this context the inevitable question referred to Yugoslav reforms, in other words, to the present and future of our model of socialism.

In addition to ASAHI AHIMBUN Budimir Loncar today also visited NHK, the national television corporation where, among other things, he was shown the "high resolution television"—a new medium which, when it comes to technology, has already been mastered in Japan.

Today Loncar and members of his delegation: Milivoje Zagajac, head of a department in the Federal Secretariat

for Foreign Affairs; Tarik Ajanovic, the SFRY ambassador in Japan; Frane Krnic, federal secretary's chef de cabinet; Radoman Jovic, minister-councellor in the embassy; and others, were guests at a luncheon given in their honor by Yoshiteru Suzuki, chairman of the Japanese-Yugoslav economic committee, and Tadateru Matsudaria, chairman of the Japanese-Yugoslav association.

Tomorrow Budimir Loncar will be accorded special honor when he visits Emperor Akihita. The federal secretary is also expected to have a meeting with Japanese transport minister to discuss the introduction of regular flight between Belgrade and Tokyo. Loncar will also have talks with general secretary of the ruling Liberal-Democratic party and the general secretary of the main opposition party, the Japanese Socialist party.

Received by Emperor Akihito

LD2510140489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1215 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Tokyo, October 25 (TANJUG)—Emperor Akihito today received Budimir Loncar, Yugoslavia's secretary for foreign affairs, on an official visit to Japan at present.

In a cordial talk of some length, Emperor Akihito laid stress on his appreciation of Yugoslavia and its independent position in the world. At the same time, the Japanese sovereign voiced his pleasure with agreement reached in the so-far talks between Loncar and Japan's premier and his ministers.

Also today, the Yugoslav diplomacy chief met with Takami Eto, minister of transport, and discussed possibilities for promoting bilateral cooperation in tourism and airtraffic with him.

Among other things, discussed was the Yugoslav Airlines (JAT) going to open a regular Belgrade-Tokyo line. While appreciating that wish, the Japanese minister pointed out to Loncar that the chief obstacle in the way of putting it into practice is an insufficient acceptance capacity of Tokyo airports. Waiting for a permit to open a Tokyo-bound line are, in addition to the JAT, another 39 world airlines, this was why it was greed to begin with charter flights so as to as well prove the worth of possibly opening a regular line. [sentence as received]

Yugoslavia should be included in itineraries of the growing numbers of Japanese tourists (ten or so millions of Japanese are expected to go abroad in 1990), it was also pointed out during the talk.

Terms Visit Successful, Departs

LD2710110589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1257 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Tokyo, 26 Oct (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, ended his official visit to Japan today and left for Belgrade.

Shortly before his departure he described his visit as successful and his talks with Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu and departmental ministers as very useful.

All the officials with whom Budimir Loncar talked over the last 3 days expressed their high appreciation of Yugoslavia's independent position and activities on the international scene and in the Nonaligned Movement, in particular.

It became evident during the talks which the federal secretary for foreign affairs conducted here that Japan's political public was following Yugoslav reforms with attention but that it was surprised at the fact that although this country was first to embark on the course of reforms, it has, nevertheless, been unsuccessful in resolving the economic crisis.

In addition to Japan's manifest interest in increasing the volume of its business deals in Yugoslavia, there was evident proverbial caution among businessmen who, although appreciative of more favorable legal conditions for investments, expect positive developments in other spheres.

Loncar was also informed of the Japanese Government's commitment, in principle, to give concrete support to Yugoslavia'a reform programs in line with actions to be taken by other Western countries.

At the end of the visit Loncar had talks with the general secretaries of the two main political parties, the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party and the Japanese Socialist Party. [passage indistinct] friendship and as close cooperation with Yugoslavia as possible. The general secretary of Japanese Socialist Party, which last July won a majority in the Upper House, showed special interest in the reforms of the SFRY's political system. Both he and Ichiro Ozawa told Loncar that their respective parties thought that Yugoslavia deserved to be helped in overcoming its difficulties, in particular those resulting from its foreign debt.

Foreign Ministry Statement on Lebanese Crisis

LD2310201089 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1717 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, October 23 (TANJUG)—The session of Lebanese parliamentarians in al-Ta'if Saudi Arabia, is an important event in resolving the Lebanese crisis and beginning a comprehensive process within the Lebanese dialogue on national reconciliation. The ninth nonaligned summit in Belgrade had also insisted on this—the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry said today.

It adds that the settling of the situation in this country, for which the activities of the Committee of the Arab League for Lebanon are largely responsible should certainly lead to an end to the suffering of the Lebanese people and turning to a renewal of the country and its development.

'We consider it especially important that an awareness is present at this moment, perhaps more than even in the 13-year-long Lebanese crisis, that the situation is finally favourable for resolving the crisis, and that that is all sides involved are responsible for the consequences if the opportunity is missed.

'The possibility of peace and a total rebirth of Lebanon could stimulate also progress in the process of seeking a peaceful solution to the crisis in the Middle East,' the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry believes.

Presidency Press Bureau on Media Attacks

AU2610173789 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Some of the public media have recently been carrying frequent attacks against and insults of the president, vice president, and members of the SFRY Presidency. They have carried untruths about the work of the SFRY Presidency and have invented polemics and conflicts among Presidency members. On this occasion, the SFRY Presidency Press and Information Bureau has issued a statement saying that the SFRY Presidency rejects and condemns such a practice and the behavior of these newspapers.

The announcement of the SFRY Presidency Press and Information Bureau also points out that, at the same time, the media which carry these malicious attacks by other newspapers are doing something which is punishable by law in all legal societies in which the integrity and reputation of the head of state, that is, the highest state body, are protected.

Committee Condemns Criticisms of Tito

LD2510204489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1938 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, October 25 (TANJUG)—A committee of the most massive political organization in Yugoslavia, the Socialist Alliance, has again risen to the defence of Josip Broz Tito, legendary leader of the Yugoslav peoples who died in 1980, whose historical role has lately been criticized in a part of the Yugoslav press and in numerous memoirs and historiographic novels.

The members of the committee, which was founded to nurse with dignity the memory of the late president in Yugoslavia, concluded today that all the attacks on Tito are actually aimed at breaking up Yugoslavia, changing its federative order, and stoking interethnic conflicts.

Ahead of a session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee on Friday which will adopt official party stands on the attacks on Tito, the alliance committee urged a critical and scientific re-examination of his role in the latter-day history of Yugoslavia, especially with relation to the current deep crisis in the country.

Memoirs and statements by some of Tito's co-fighters, who now claim that Tito is responsible for the current crisis in Yugoslavia, were especially criticized at today's meeting. Thus, one former high-ranking state official was severely criticized today for an allegedly untrue statement to a paper that Tito was actually buried the night after the official burial which was attended by several hundred thousand citizens and about a hundred foreign pressmen.

The Slovenian republican party presidency today also criticized attempts to belittle and discredit Josip Broz Tito through criticisms of the 1974 Yugoslav Constitution. The Slovenian party leadership [word indistinct] criticized one of Tito's co-fighters—a general, and the youth daily MLADINA of Ljubljana.

Slovene LC Presidium Statement on 'Roundtable'

LD2010151989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1915 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 19 Oct (TANJUG)—The Slovene League of Communists [LC] Central Committee Presidium today denied "all the comments that the representatives of the Slovene LC have not respected the agreements reached in the activity of the so-called roundtable" in which representatives of sociopolitical organizations and alternative movements in Slovenia took part together.

The statement of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium stresses inter alia that the "attempt to show that the Slovene LC representatives did not act appropriately to realize the agreements of the roundtable" was simply irresponsible, and can only been seen as a deliberate attempt to confuse the public. The representatives which have so far stood for the Slovene LC at the "roundtable" have had all the necessary authorization of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium. It is clear that we recognize the same right of all other political subjects because we understand it as one of the basic factors of democratic pluralism and specific relations between subjects which participate in it, the statement says.

Concerning one of the two basic program points of the "roundtable"—cooperation in the formation of electoral legislature—the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium agrees that representatives of the new political organizations should also take part in the assembly commission responsible for that issue. It also expects that it will be possible to regulate in the same way the preparation of the draft law on political association.

The Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium considers as appropriate in its statement the continuation of the "roundtable" as "a formal method of democratic political dialogue, reciprocal briefing and consultation, open to everyone who is prepared to cooperate in accordance with the standing orders, and who wishes to contribute

to democratic reforms on the basis of the adopted amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia."

In conclusion the statement describes as superfluous the desire of every participant in the "roundtable" to "secure for himself a majority, or if he does not succeed in this he proclaims the roundtable undemocratic and leaves it. The continuation of the "roundtable" is also endangered by its use for constant criticism of other participants. The Slovene LC has never practised this, and we have long emphasized in public the importance of seeking those points in common which can form the foundations for the formation of a constitutional haven and for taking on responsibility for political life in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia," the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium says in its statement in connection with the signed declaration of certain participants in the "roundtable" on why they no longer wish to participate in its work.

Slovene Socialist Alliance Organization Forming

LD2010172689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1152 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Ljubljana, October 20 (TANJUG)—The dynamical political scene in the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia will by the end of November gain yet another political organization—the Alliance for the Protection of the Equality of Citizens.

The organization, which gathers around 400 citizens, will operate within the mass political organization the Slovenian Socialist Alliance. President of the organization's Initiative Committee Dragis Marojevic told journalists on Thursday.

The new alliance is expected to undertake activities aimed at protecting the equality of all citizens in Slovenia, regardless of their nationality or religious persuasion. Marojevic made it clear that the organization would protect the interests of "non-Slovene" citizens in that republic.

"Non-Slovenes" in Slovenia want to create themselves a "defensive mechanism," because the Slovenian constitution does not take into consideration the interests of around 400,000 citizens from other Yugoslav republics who currently live in Slovenia, Marojevic said.

He believes that besides ethnic Albanians—who have been helped considerably to preserve their national identity in this prosperous northern Yugoslav republic—other nationalities from southern republics have been left to themselves.

'Will Fight for Yugoslavia'

AU2410152789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Oct 89 p 14

[V. Simonovic report: "Alliance for Equal Rights"]

[Text] Ljubljana 19 Oct—Slovenia will most probably soon be richer by yet another political organization: the Alliance for the Protection of the Equal Rights of Citizens. The alliance, which will be formed toward the end of November, will be a kind of committee for the protection of human rights and the equality of citizens in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and Yugoslavia, and will at the same time be a political organization, representing the interests of the section of the population who have hitherto "not had the opportunity of expressing their sociopolitical will and commitment." This, as the founders said at today's press conference, refers to "non-Slovenes" in particular.

The founding committee consists of five people; however, as Dragisa Marojevic, its chairman, stressed today, 400 citizens have already joined the alliance, and any SFRY citizens, regardless of nationality or religious allegiance, may be members of the alliance, as the draft program states. The alliance's tasks, as set out in the program, are "to support all activities to promote and protect the equality, freedom, and development of all peoples and nationalities who are threatened by nationalism and provocative discrimination, and to help all the work of the Socialist Alliance of Working People that is organized with the purpose of fostering and preserving the unity of the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia and the heritage of the revolution. These naturally include activities in the cultural field to bring peoples and nationalities closer to each other, and the alliance also intends to take an active part in elections. The alliance will of course appraise and assess the political situation, thereby encouraging peoples and nationalities to draw together. The program also states that the alliance will subject to criticism those phenomena that are harmful to brotherhood and unity and the equality of the citizens, and that it will propose legal steps against such individuals, groups, organizations, and associations.

The alliance will also have a court of honor which will monitor citizens' rights in the field and will record violations of equality, reporting them to the Executive Committee, which will then propose and determine sanctions.

Asked about the structure of the membership, Marojevic replied that it will consist of sound cadres. The additional question of who will decide who is "sound," and by what criteria, went without a reply, since Marojevic then explained that their council in fact had the intention of fighting to create conditions under which both Janez and Mujo [typical Slovene and Muslim names] would be able to respect each other.

On the Constitution and Second-Class Citizens

Dragisa Marojevic and Ilija Milanovic, members of the founding committee, spoke critically about the new Slovene Constitution, claiming that it made no mention of the 400,000 "southerners" living in Slovenia.

"It is nowhere stated that we are second-class citizens, but it is nevertheless implied. We therefore wish to construct a defense mechanism in case we cannot defend ourselves through the federation. Marojevic also added that they did not wish to protect only 'southerners,' but also those Slovenes who feel they are Yugoslavs."

To the question put by journalists of whether his criticism of the Slovene amendments and talk about honest and misled Slovenians meant that "non-Slovenes" are in fact being driven into a ghetto, Marojevic first replied that Ciril Ribicic's explanation of the Slovene amendments, for a law faculty professor, had been disgraceful, and that he had discovered that the Slovenes are misled on the basis of personal contacts. Their alliance, he added still further, will fight for Yugoslavia.

In Marojevic's view, the Albanians had received much more help than other national groups in establishing their own identity in Slovenia. He said that they had not contacted their (the Albanians') association.

Slovene Communist League Promotes New Program

AU2310163989 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] Today, the leading team of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, led by Milan Kucan, held a press conference at which it promoted the organization's new program. After a public debate it will be proposed to the December congress that this program be adopted. The document envisages major changes in the League of Communists of Slovenia. Here is a report from Ljubljana by Relja Atanasijevic:

The draft of the new program of the League of Communists of Slovenia consists of 16 chapters and has the title: For a European Quality of Life. A European quality of life not only refers to Slovenia, but also to all of Yugoslavia, in which European living and working standards should be affirmed.

At the same time, the document represents the election program of the Slovene Communists who want their organization, through substantive, cadre, and organizational changes, to become a party of social transformation, a stimulating factor, and the promoter of democratic and social changes.

One of the prime objectives of the program, as stressed, is democratic socialism, which would suit the needs of the Slovenes and other peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia which, as a federation, should be able to live with political pluralism and social and ("reasonable) differences. The program states that the federation should be divested of power in terms of income division and that the federal state, as a state of equal peoples and nationalities, should be enabled to transform itself into a modern and efficient state.

In addition, Slovenia is giving priority to the republican Constitution over the federal Constitution and has announced that it will take part in the drafting of a new SFRY Constitution. Slovenia regards this as the only prospect for the development of its people. Out of other elements concerning the federation, three of them deserve special attention. Slovenia favors a two-house federal assembly, coordinated decisionmaking in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, and an asymmetric federation.

Political pluralism has also been given a prominent place in the draft program of the League of Communists of Slovenia. The program states that political pluralism is an element of a good-quality life and that it represents a ("way) out of the crisis and the end of monism and monopoly. This refers to the changes in the system of power based on the limited, democratically controlled, and divided power which will be legally endorsed at elections.

The program states that the League of Communists of Slovenia will carry out its own reform according to the program for a European quality of life and in line with the elements of Eurocommunism, both as a party and as a movement of the forces on the left. Another novelty is that religious people will be able to join the League of Communists of Slovenia, provided that they accept its program aims and statute and that they pay the membership fee.

Milan Kucan expressed the belief that this program is the ("answer) to the crisis and joint living in Yugoslavia. He said that in addition to the existing three programs, it would be good for the 14th extraordinary congress to draft other programs. These programs should help in solving the republican-provincial differences and should represent the bases for conducting patient discussions.

Finally, it is also worth mentioning that as part of the marketing a short film about the 14th congress of the League of Communists of Slovenia was made. The film contains a slogan, Europe Now, and a yellow five-pointed star, which is the symbol of a united Europe.

Ciril Ribicic on Name of Slovene Party

AU2510090289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Oct 89 p 2

[V.S. report: "The Eclipse of Symbols"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 18 Oct—The primary common assumption is that the change of the name of the League of Communists is not the first, but the last question. In brief, we are not embarking on [illegible] programmatic document and changing the [illegible] for the sake of changing the name and symbols, but vice versa. Ciril Ribicic, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, said at the conference with secretaries of the communal party committees explaining his views on the changes in the name and symbols of the League of Communists of Slovenia.

Another important thing is the positive assessment of the present name of the League of Communists of Slovenia which did not come about as a symbol of a one-party system, but, on the contrary, it came about after the conflict with the Cominform, as a symbol of the striving for a transformation of the Communist Party into the League of Communists. Therefore, this is the name of an organization which should not work through decrees and power, but through persuasion and ideological work. This, of course, can be seen in the name, but in many aspects this was not realized in the past.

We in the League of Communists of Slovenia, Ribicic went on to say, advocate a creation of a transitional electoral system which will focus on reform-oriented candidates and not on entire lists and organizations. If we manage to do that, he pointed out, it will help us gain some more time to gradually transform our organization.

We in the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Slovenia have decided not to change the name immediately before the elections, because that may be misunderstood and interpreted as a cheap move and may have an unfavorable effect during the elections. However, we think that it would be justified to immediately start using certain adjectives along with the name of the League of Communists of Slovenia, additional adjectives, so to speak, which would point to the essence of the League of Communists at the moment. We have also thought of speaking of the League of Communists of Slovenia as an organization, even a party [stranka] of the social transformation. In brief, we can say that it is the organization which will promote reformist efforts.

In our opinion, one can speak of a "new" League of Communists of Slovenia, that is, a League of Communists as a social democratic option. One of the dangers one should particularly stress is the danger of a rift on the Slovene socialist left.

We know that rightists would take advantage of such a rift. Of course, if this happens to us, that would mean a catastrophe, particularly in Slovenia with its Liberation Front traditions.

Albanian Protests in Ljubljana Deplored

AU2310195289 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] We now give our commentary on yesterday's events in Ljubljana.

Yesterday's demonstration by a group of members of the Albanian nationality living in the capital of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia has caused deep indignation among all the Albanians of our province who wish for the fastest possible stabilization of the situation in the province. This [word indistinct] cannot do any good or help solve the problems of Kosovo, but will on the contrary help Albanian nationalism and separatism, and all other forces who are not working for the good of Kosovo, but are seeking to destabilize the situation throughout the country and to create division and confrontation among its peoples and nationalities.

It is also a surprising fact that, in spite of the reactionary and counterrevolutionary character of this demonstration, the security organs in Ljubljana did not intervene in any way whatsoever, but allowed the demonstrators to voice their unacceptable demands, and even to call on sympathizers to join them. This [word indistinct] of Azem Vlasi on the very threshold of his trial cannot be understood as anything other than an attempt to exert pressure on the judicial authorities and to create an insupportable atmosphere. [words indistinct] threat to legality and constitutionality comes from the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and Ljubljana, where once again the demands of a militant group of members of the Albanian nationality living in the capital of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia are tolerated, not to say supported. As we state, this does not help the work being done to stabilize the situation in Kosovo and the struggle against Albanian nationalism and separatism, and all other kinds of nationalism.

Daily Views Macedonian-Serbian Disagreements

LD2410134589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Oct 89 p 5

[Nenad Batkoski report: "Secrets Only Until Elections"]

[Excerpts] Jakov Lazaroski, president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Macedonia, recently received a delegation from the youth magazine MLADI BORCE which presented to him a petition containing the signatures of 800 Macedonian citizens who are demanding from him and Jezdimir Bogdanski, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, that the shorthand notes be published of talks that were conducted in Skopje between the Macedonian and Serbian leaderships last summer. A visit by the delegation from the youth magazine was also announced by Jezdimir Bogdanski and the initiators of the petition; journalists from the youth magazine were optimistic even after the first meeting because the shorthand notes or more detailed reports from these talks will most probably be published so that one more mystery which burdens Macedonian political life will be lifted.

The Resentment of the Public

Talks between the Macedonian and Serbian delegations in Skopje were in fact held at a time of great resentment among the Macedonian public because of some steps that were taken in the neighboring republic, these involve above all the events in the Prohor Pcinjski monastery, where there was a commemorative plaque, marking the first session of the Anti-Fascist Council for the Liberation of Macedonia, at which the foundations of Macedonian statehood were laid. The church authorities in the monastery have prevented visitors from seeing the plaque. Even more dissatisfaction was to follow when the fact was discovered that on maps

immediately after the war, the Prohor Pcinjski monastery was on the territory of Macedonia and that afterwards, it was mysteriously transfered onto the area of the Socialist Republic of Serbia without the public's knowledge. The Macedonian public was also dissatisfied with the demand for a revision of the law on colonists, which was initiated in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, because, as this was interpreted in Macedonia, the revision meant "giving compensation rights to Serbian colonists in Macedonia who—as members of the gendarmerie, teachers, officers, and so on—were exponents of the Serbian bourgeoisie which conducted a policy of denationalizing the Macedonian people." Relations between the two republics have for many decades been burdened by the fact that the Serbian Orthodox Church does not recognize the independence of the Macedonian Orthodox Church. At the same time, dissatisfaction has been voiced in Serbia because monuments to the first world war are not being carefully maintained and other problems are often emphasized. These stem above all from history, for example, the present proposal for 1 December to be celebrated as a Yugoslav holiday, which is something that the Socialist Republic of Macedonia does not agree with because the formation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes perpetuated the division of Macedonia into three parts and, even more, because Macedonia and the Macedonian people did not have any rights whatsoever in the kingdom.

Because of all this, the meeting between the Macedonian and Serbian delegations (the Macedonian delegation was headed by Jezdimir Bogdanski and the Serbian one by Slobodan Milosevic) was greeted by the public with great interest. However, to the public's great surprise, only a brief statement was issued which said nothing. Even earlier meetings a year ago between Jakov Lazaroski and Slobodan Milosevic in Ohrid and Struga have remained covered in a veil of secrecy. All this has strengthened gossip and speculation by "well-informed circles," and in Skopje several versions of the talks between the two delegations have been retold: That Slobodan Milosevic lectured the Macedonian leadership and was annoyed because Macedonia is "nonaligned" in the current Yugoslav quarrels and that the Macedonian leaders spoke openly about their problems and that Milosevic promised a quick solution to all of these problems. The story is also circulating that contentious issues were not included in the talks at all and that only economic cooperation was discussed. The surprise and dissatisfaction of the Macedonian public was all the greater because the Macedonian leaders had previously spoken to a Slovene delegation led by Milan Kucan and virtually all the manifestations were public and ceremonial, and Kucan even spoke to the political activ in Skopje and answered questions.

A Democratic Demand

Nikola Mladenov, chief editor of MLADI BORCE, said that the talks between the Macedonian and Serbian delegations were only an excuse for the petition to demand that the shorthand notes be published, because the petition itself demands that the shorthand notes be published of all talks which are held in the country between leaderships of the republics and provinces. He said that this in fact concerns the democratic demand that nothing be concealed and that no closed sessions be held whatsoever, sessions at which policy and political decisions are designed, the political life is mystified even more, and the dissatisfaction and irritation of the public is increased. [passage omitted]

All this of course instills mistrust among the public regarding the leadership, which has also been demonstrated in the latest demands for the resignation of the republican government and the establishment of the accountability of Gligorie Gogovski, its president. Electoral activity prior to the 10th Congress of the League of Communists of Macedonia has shown that a considerable number of Communists does not have any confidence in the "present" party leaders and the best-known ones are the ones that are criticized the most. [passage omitted]

Tupurkovski on Macedonian Officials' Suspension

LD2410205689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1447 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] Skopje, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—Speaking in the Macedonian Assembly's Delegates' Club, Dr Vasil Tupurkovski, a member of the SFRY Presidency, referred, among other things, to the case of the suspension of eight employees of the Macedonian Republican Secretariat of Internal Affairs and to nationalistic slogans which recently emerged in some Macedonian towns.

The suspension of eight employees of the Republican Secretariat of Internal Affairs amounts to crude political repression, said Tupurkovski and asked the Republican Secretariat to reexamine its decision and restore these party and self-management activists.

In Tupurkovski's view the nationalistic slogans in some towns in Macedonia are essentially anti-Macedonian and have not been written by Macedonians. We can "Conquer Salonika" and indeed the whole world, but we can do that solely through knowledge and civilized achievements, and not with primitive nationalism.

Organizers of Zagreb Governor Protest Criticized

AU2110211989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Oct 89 p 12

[S. Vranic report: "Reproaches Spoil the Satisfaction"]

[Text] Zagreb, 12 Oct—Sunday's happening on Zagreb's Republic Square was completely successful, claim the organizers, and they cite as proof the figure of 70,000 signatures with which the Zagreb people expressed their demand for the return of the statue of the controversial governor [ban] Jelacic to the place from whence it was removed 42 years ago. The cause of satisfaction is not only this one but also the fact that more than 205 million

dinars, 10 Swiss francs, 322 DM, 100 schillings, 11,000 lira, and $2 poured into the coffers of the Croatian Social Liberal Alliance [CSLA].

The organizers' joy was diluted by the Presidium of the City Committee of the League of Communists of Zagreb which upbraided the CSLA for taking over someone else's initiative and neglecting the fact that a special committee has been operating in the city's assembly for 3 years which is headed by the academician Andre Mohorovicic who is leading the action for returning the monument to Zagreb.

The city party leadership also criticized the organizers for collecting voluntary contributions among citizens, which was not announced when permission was sought from the Secretariat for Internal Affairs to hold Sunday's manifestation. Finally, the Presidium sharply condemned the distribution of nationalist leaflets by Tudjman's branch of the Croatian Democratic Community, as well as sporadic nationalist provocation, above all the singing of the song "Rise Up Governor Jelacic" by several groups.

At the meeting of the leadership of the CSLA it was said that the organizers had had nothing to do with the activities of activists from the Croatian Democratic Community. The CSLA leadership claims that the Secretariat for Internal Affairs was informed of the scenario of the whole manifestation and, in reply to the criticism from the Presidium of the City Committee of the League of Communists that the CSLA had used the Sunday meeting to promote themselves, the leadership of this "party" [stranka] said that they had announced in their application that they would distribute their program declaration and applications for membership to the CSLA. Indeed, they admit that nothing was said in advance about collecting money but the citizens themselves had insisted on giving their contributions, which will be used for tending the Jelacic tomb.

In reply to the reproaches that could be heard in the city committee and part of the press that the CSLA is rummaging around in history, wanting to gain daily political points at the expense of historical subjects, the leadership claim that historical subjects have not been and will not be at the focus of their attention. The CSLA—says the leadership—is preparing its specific political program and one of its next actions will be devoted to concern for deprived and neglected children.

Zagreb Academics Found Independent Trade Union

AU2410153089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Oct 89 p 10

[Sanja Modric report: "Savage Taunts at the Ruling Philosophy"]

[Excerpts] The Ridjer Boskovic Teaching Institute in Zagreb has issued harsh threats against the "official" trade union, which were jointly formulated at a meeting of teaching assistants, doctors and professors from a large number of academic and higher educational institutions in the Croatian capital. Intolerable material conditions, but also intellectual decay, have impelled the academics to take some kind of step themselves, and their stand at the meeting, which was that they no longer need a trade union that has done absolutely nothing for them, was a result of the "critical mass" of discontent.

What they need is their own strong and independent organization. Whether it will be under the umbrella of the Croatian Trade Unions or not no longer depends on them at all. If the announced reform of the trade unions will make room for their trade union, whose structure they themselves will decide, there will be a possibility of preserving the hitherto unhappy union. If it does not—a breach is unavoidable.

The new trade union leaders of this institute, chosen only 2 days ago, organized the meeting following a swift and detailed agreement with members, helped in this by colleagues from the Zagreb Institute for the History of the Labor Movement who found themselves on the same "wavelength." Similarity of interest attracted about a hundred mainly young people from other academic institutions to the meeting. Listening to the introduction to the discussion by the "Rudjerite" Dr Alfred Svarc, they whispered around the room: "This is how we ourselves talk." [passage omitted]

Dr Branko Horvat set the tone of the discussion and its conclusions, saying that the question of independent trade unions will quickly reach the agenda throughout Yugoslavia. Similar steps have been prepared at the Ljubljana Faculty of Philosophy, and an identical initiative has been announced among Belgrade textile workers.

Expressing doubt that they can obtain what they are looking for from the existing trade unions, the academics nevertheless decided to make sure once again. They founded a steering committee for the new trade union which will invite all trade union organizations in academic life and higher education to cooperate, negotiating at the same time with the Croatian Trade Union Council.

Kosovo Assembly Dismisses Vice Premier Susuri

LD2510202189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1912 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Pristina, October (TANJUG)—The assembly of the Kosovo province on Wednesday relieved Hazir Susuri of his duty as vice-premier of the provincial government because of his "coming into conflict with the policy of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia."

The motion was carried by secret ballot with 68 delegates voting in favour and 20 against, while 18 abstained.

The vote was preceded by a heated debate lasting several hours, in which a number of ethnic Albanian delegates

tried to lessen Susuri's responsibility and disagreed with the provincial government's proposal to relieve him of his duty.

Susuri—who was expelled from the League of Communists on Tuesday—last month announced his intention to reign because of disagreement with the way the party policy is being implemented in Kosovo, especially as concerns the methods of so-called ideo-political differentiation.

The [word indistinct] implies consideration of the role and possible party [word indistinct] of individuals involved in the unrest in this most underdeveloped and most densely populated part of Yugoslavia during last spring's vote on the new constitution of Serbia, the largest Yugoslav republic whose part Kosovo is. At the time the republic obtained wider powers over Kosovo and its other province, Vojvodina.

Sarajevo LC Criticizes LCY Central Committee

LD2410194889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1350 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—At its session today, the Sarajevo League of Communists city committee gave a very low-grade view of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Central Committee's work. Demands were also heard for its replacement. At the session, a number of critical points were made of the work of the LCY's top body between two congresses. In fact, the LCY Central Committee members were mostly criticized because of their confrontations which have produced a bad impression, not just among the membership, but among the people as a whole too.

On several occasions at the session, calls were made for the complete renewal of the LCY Central Committee, even at the price of losing the few of its members who have worked hard and well. In any case, it was said, in the past similar situations were resolved by dismissals.

More on Bosnian SAWP on Serb Security Service

AU2510190489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] The Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Bosnia-Hercegovina continued its session in Sarajevo. Here is a report by Ljubomir Nikolic:

Following its many affairs, and with its new leadership, Bosnia-Hercegovina still has no uniform program for its renewal, and this is its greatest drawback. This is what Dragan Kalinic said during the debate today, adding that the main characteristics of this republic are the three peoples that have been living in it together for centuries.

The delegates' attention has mainly been attracted by the announcement issued by the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs last night concerning the controversial report of the Serbian State Security Service. This has made the Republican Conference Presidium of the Socialist Alliance hold an extraordinary session, at which this announcement was deemed unacceptable because it deals solely with the formal aspect of the problem and lacks an assessment of whether the Serbian State Security Service assessed the political situation in some Bosnia-Hercegovina communes, how it did that, and why that was done.

The Republican Conference Presidium has proposed its stances to the delegates, whereby the Federal Secretariat's announcement is not accepted because it simplifies problems and reduces them to the technical and operational aspect of the controversy,and the essence of the disagreement is made vague.

In the stances it is said that there have been grave disparagements concerning the state of interethnic relations in Bosnia-Hercegovina on the basis of unconfirmed reports. The state security bodies of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Federal Internal Secretariat have been ignored, something that made it possible to conclude that a people is being protected outside its republic, which is a kind of paternalism. It is further said in the document that it is no business of the state security service to make political assessments of the political situation and leadership of a community; so the responsible bodies of Serbia and the Federation are expected to make assessments of all aspects of this case and to establish the responsibility of individuals and services.

The entire case has not been provoked in Bosnia-Hercegovina and should not mar further cooperation and relations between the leaderships of Serbia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, it is pointed out in the stances, and it is ultimately demanded that the SFRY Presidency and the Federal Council for the Protection of Constitutional Order most urgently remove the stamp of state secrecy from the controversial reports, because they do not contain data of any interest for the security of the country.

Taking part in the debate today, Adil Djozic, the delegate from Srebrenica, claimed that interethnic relations in that region are good and that both Serbs and Muslims have been emigrating from there solely for economic reasons.

After making certain changes to them, the delegates of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Bosnia-Hercegovina have unanimously adopted the stances.

Ethnic Committee Discusses Status of Romanies

LD2410090389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1534 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Oct (TANJUG)—Whether the Romanies are members of an ethnic group or are members of a nationality is a question exercised in the minds of Romany activists, politicians, and cultural pundits for quite some time and was the subject of a discussion held

today at the Coordination Committee for Ethnic Relations of the Republican Committee of the Serbian SAWP [Socialist Alliance of Working People].

The meeting was "inspired by a petition by Rajko Djuric, secretary general of the World Congress of Romanies, submitted the SFRY Assembly proposing that a uniform status—the status of a nationality—be agreed for the Romanies in all republics and provinces. Irrespective of this petition the members of the Romany community for quite some time have been pointing out the illogical nature of the treatment meted out to the Romanies in individual republics the constitutions of which—with the exception of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Montenegro—categorize the Romanies as an ethnic group, but this is a group not recognized by the SFRY Constitution. In addition, the Coordination Committee for Ethnic Relations of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia Federal Conference has received a specific proposal by the Macedonian SAWP demanding a discussion in depth of this issue in the all the republics and provinces.

In fact, Romanies are not mentioned specifically as an ethnic group in any of the republican and provincial constitutions. However, in practice, and during official meetings too, they have been treated as such. This made some Romany activists believe that their nationality has thereby been degraded and that the problems of this numerically strong community could be solved more rapidly if Romanies are described as a nationality in the most important republican documents.

Defense Secretary Kadijevic on Military Issues

AU2510175789 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Oct 89 pp 2-3

[Text] The current political, economic, and security situation in the country represents in its content and forms of manifestation a logical, one could say law-governed, continuation of the previous processes and activities. These are now considerably accelerated and crystallized because both social crises have reached the bottom line and the dates which will determine further development of Yugoslavia—the 14th LCY Congress and the adoption of a new SFRY Constitution—are set or should be set soon, the federal secretary for national defense stressed. Conflicts between various conceptions are, therefore, in full swing. The nearer we are to the mentioned events [the LCY Congress and the adoption of a new SFRY Constitution] the more the conflicts will become sharper and heated. This also means that all forces in our society will have to very precisely and fully determine their stances about all important issues of reforms, for which the society is in principle. This has to be done even more so because experience from past years warns us that everyone interpreted and implemented stances, conclusions, decisions, and even legal norms—from the SFRY Constitution to regulations of the Federal Assembly and the Federal Executive Council [FEC] to LCY Congress resolutions—which were at an incomprehensible level of generality or were even contradictory, as it suited them. Apart from this, if we leave aside anti-Yugoslav and anti-socialist options, which are increasingly numerous even at the public scene, both of which are in a direct conflict with the LCY policy and more or less skillfully intertwined with options existing in some parts of the LCY, within the framework of organized socialist forces, great differences exist regarding both social systems and the shape of the Yugoslav state.

The Yugoslav People's Army—and in particular, its cadre and the LCY in the JNA—must adequately meet the specific and concrete challenges of this historical moment. Such a response must be in accordance with its historical place and role in the victory of the socialist revolution, the socialist development and defense of the country, in accordance with its revolutionary nature, and the fact that it belongs to the people and that it is Yugoslav in character. The response must also be in accordance with its SFRY-determined role in the defense of the territorial integrity and social set-up of the country. We have always, both during and after Tito's time, proceeded from such requirements, and we will continue to do so in the future in a manner befitting the demands of times ahead.

At the same time, now, as previously, we want to make clear two things. First, the tasks of the armed forces in the defense of the country, set by the SFRY Constitution, and federal laws, cannot be disputed. Their readiness and ability to carry out these tasks efficiently in a manner prescribed by the SFRY Constitution and the law on national defense, cannot be doubted.

Second, all our stances about the content of social reforms are subject to public assessment. We do not request privileged treatment for them. Its not just that our stances and proposals regarding the reforms in Yugoslavia, some of which are in the beginning stages (economic), and other which have not even started (reform of the state), are open for criticism, but, in fact, the majority of activities regarding army development is presented for public assessment. Those who are frightening us with public criticism are deceiving themselves. We are fully aware of the fact that our work is publicly assessed and of the usefulness of such an assessment. Moreover, we are not at all upset when some critics use obvious and even crude slanders, falsehoods, and forgeries in the absence of arguments. This only shows the orientations or, more frequently, the intellectual and other abilities of such critics. We are not asking for applause for our stances from anti-communists, nationalists, and all others who want to break up Yugoslavia, or from individual, self-proclaimed theoretical and political grand personalities, who are so "wise and stable" that it would be difficult to count how many times they changed their ideological and political colors so far. On the contrary, their approval would be a sure sign that we are seriously mistaken. I believe that everyone truly fighting for the federal Yugoslavia and socialism must be

aware of this and act in an appropriate manner. Unfortunately, so far, things are not like that.

Similarly, we cannot and will not be hindered in the struggle for our stands by "arguments" which are not what they are supposed to be, assertions that our stands coincide more with the stands of one, and less with another republic, that we want to be neutral, to "use tactics", or even that we place exaggerated emphasis on Yugoslavia, or that it is necessary to immediately take a stand in the public arena on any idea which comes from one environment or another. These are no arguments, but rather arbitrary and inaccurate qualifications. Every stance of ours has clear content and any serious criticism should prove its value or error with arguments. Qualifications, or disqualifications instead of arguments, are an indication of the weakness of the critic. The aim of such criticisms is transparent: to bring into question and to compromise the Yugoslav orientation of the JNA, or to silence it. All these critics may be sure that neither will succeed. Some tell us that we do not see or do not want to see the essence of some of the latest maneuvers. I can tell them that they are very wrong. We see all the maneuvers very clearly, and there are unfortunately not only a few of them, for example the old and the latest calls on the foreign factor to bring order to the settlement of affairs in Yugoslavia. Any maneuver directed against Yugoslavia and socialism in Yugoslavia will meet with our resolute and uncompromising opposition. Internal issues of the state or social system will be resolved by the people of this country themselves, without any outside influence, regardless of who calls on this influence, on what occasion, and what guise it takes.

The army's assessments and stances on the causes of the social crisis in Yugoslavia and the ways to overcome it have a continuity over many years, and they have not changed essentially in the past few years. The essence of these assessments and stances are known to the Yugoslav public, and the relevant institutions in society know how we view their implementation. With regard to the demands of the current juncture, particularly the broad debate conducted in the JNA on the basis of the platform which was adopted as our comprehensive view of the present and future of Yugoslavia at the session of the LCY Committee in the JNA on 12 July this year, I will present our stances on the more important issues which have arisen in the meantime as new or relatively new. I will spell out in more concrete terms some of the more significant principled decisions already announced which are important for the content of the reforms which are under way, or for reforms whose content is shortly to be determined.

In the first place, I wish to clearly note our stance, set out long ago, that the basic causes of our crisis lie in major mistakes of a systemic nature, some of which have their roots in the SFRY Constitution. Much of what is happening now—the rampant nationalism to the point of madness, the creation of various kinds of hypotheses for the division of Yugoslavia, clashes in leaderships which manifest themselves in the crudest quarrels with a large dose of hatred, the hyperinflation, the inefficiency of the federal state and its organs—all these are the consequences of basic causes. This is why it is impermissable to alter the theories on the place of the causes and the consequences. The consequences should be energetically removed and halted, but only as a prerequisite for the real and harder task, the removal of the fundamental causes of the crisis. The first, therefore, cannot be a substitute for the latter, because if we were to accept that, we would quickly find ourselves in an even more serious situation.

We, therefore, consider that the reforms, in addition to being fundamental and comprehensive, should also be coordinated in timing as far as possible, because they are conditional and dependent on each other, stressed the federal secretary for national defense. The best example of this are the results being yielded by the reform moves of the FEC in the sphere of economic activity. If a program of state reform and a complete program of reform of the whole political system were to run parallel with the economic programme of the FEC, then there would be real results, or rather, only then would it be possible to objectively assess each, and the whole program of economic reforms. We believe that coordination in time is both essential and realistically possible to achieve here. This is why we are vigorously calling for even better, more active, and more constructive preparations for the 14th LCY congress, are against its further deferment, and are for the intensification of all activities in drafting the new constitution of the SFRY. Time is relatively short, but we cannot accept the obvious maneuver which, seeking to base its argument on the lack of time, in fact wants to prevent the necessary changes. We should bear in mind that we have wasted time in a way which, if it were to continue, would never lead to positive results. Moreover, the essential issues of the reform of the system and state system are not new, rather they are the subject of many years of consideration in our society, including that which preceded the adoption of the amendments to the SFRY Constitution.

We support the reforms of the socioeconomic system which the FEC is working on, but we are calling for their completion and for the systemic and legal instruments to be guaranteed for their effective implementation, which means that we are advocating the simultaneous reform of the state as an essential prerequisite for economic reform, Kadijevic said. Economic reform cannot succeed without an adequate role of the state. That is precisely the kind of role which states with modern market economies have. Not only does our federal state not have such a role, but it is also objectively facing financial collapse. This simply cannot be sustained any longer.

In the sphere of reform of the socioeconomic system, we particularly emphasize the following.

Prime importance should be given to all elements of motivation as the foundation stone of the efficiency of

economic activity, particularly profits for success, but likewise losses for lack of success, which is only verified on the market.

There should be equal treatment of all forms of ownership regarding the conditions of economic activity and the criteria for efficiency. In these conditions, social ownership with self-management as its production relationship and essential motivating factor, should prove its value and advantages, if it indeed has them. Competitiveness of ownership relations will afford the answer to many fundamental issues of the socioeconomic system.

A unified Yugoslav economic area calls for a uniform mechanism of economic direction (monetary, credit, fiscal, foreign trade, and foreign exchange).

The functioning of large systems (postal and telecommunications services, communications, the power industry) must be reorganized to ensure their greater unity, which is not only in the economic, but also in the defense interests of the country.

Clearly, an important prerequisite not only of economic but also all other reforms is the halting and curbing of inflation. We should all work and cooperate more constructively in practical terms in this task, and politicize less what is already an objectively very serious problem. Everyone has their share of responsibility in this. For us in the army it appears that, in addition to all the measures which are being taken in the fight against inflation, two key segments, prices and personal incomes, must be made more appropriate to the present conditions of economic activity.

In its entirety the new SFRY Constitution should more precisely present Yugoslavia as a united federal and self-managing socialist community of all working people and citizens and of the equal peoples and nationalities that live in it. This is why the SFRY Constitution should be the foremost political and legal act. The republican and provincial constitutions should be in accord with the federal Constitution. The view according to which republican constitutions should be given precedence, according to which republican constitutions should be drafted before the SFRY Constitution, and according to which the content of the SFRY Constitution should depend on the content of the republican constitutions is unacceptable. This would obviously put the SFRY in the position of a confederation and this would be in conflict with the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] resolutions, and the interests of survival and the successful development of Yugoslavia as a whole. After all, this kind of order of things was not considered during the adoption of the resolutions at the second session of AVNOJ, nor do the precise resolutions permit this or refer to it.

The Delegate System Has Failed To Affirm Itself

This is why we have expressed our disagreement with those amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia that are, according to the appropriate federal institutions, in conflict with the SFRY Constitution. Regarding all of those issues concerning the Army to which the controversial amendments refer, the armed forces will continue to exclusively go by the SFRY Constitution and federal laws.

The political system should be simplified and made more efficient in all of its parts. The assemblies should act as an integrating factor of society with different interests and initiatives proceeding primarily from citizens and the working people, as well as their sociopolitical and social organizations and the needs of economic and other entities. They should be a unique expression of social and political nonparty pluralism with the pronounced participation and influence of the workers' class and all leading socialist forces.

The executive and administrative organs should have greater powers, more independence, and should be considerably more accountable for the work they perform.

The existing delegate system has not succeeded in affirming itself as a rational and efficient system. This has contributed towards inefficiency in the assembly system. Bearing in mind the work experience of delegations and delegates, and in this context, military delegations, this system should be thoroughly reexamined and even substituted with a modern system of representatives such as those that exist in other modern states. The entire election system would be adapted to this and would introduce democratic election principles (the secret ballot, more candidates, a democratic process of nominating candidates, direct nomination of citizens, and so forth). In this process we should retain the appropriate role of the Socialist Alliance of Working People and other sociopolitical organizations.

The constitution must present the entire Yugoslavia as an efficient, modern, democratic, and law-governed state. In this kind of state, the freedoms, rights and responsibilities of citizens and other social subjects must be founded and solved in full accordance with the Constitution and laws.

The Federation and its Organs Must Have All Necessary Powers

In our multinational community the stands that ensure the equality of peoples and nationalities continue to deserve special attention. In exercising the freedom to express national affiliation, that it is to say nationality, the Constitution should also guarantee people the right to declare themselves Yugoslavs and it should be an equal option for every citizen of our country.

The state of the SFRY can function as a modern and law-governed state only if it is a federation and only if its organs can freely, responsibly, and efficiently perform the duties and tasks that are in their sphere of competence.

This is why the federation and its organs must have all of the necessary powers and means for performing their functions that are established by the SFRY Constitution.

With regard to this, one should bear in mind the experiences that are important for the optimal way of solving economic and other social problems and proceed from the principled view that the federation should carry out those functions that are of common interest for all peoples and nationalities and the working people and citizens of Yugoslavia. In any case, we must consistently ensure those functions that are in the nature of the functioning of every federal state, especially those that lie in the following fields:

—National defense and security.
—Foreign policy and international relations.
—Unified bases of the socioeconomic, political, and legal systems founded on socialist, self-managing, and democratic orientations.
—Freedoms, rights, and duties of man and citizens.
—A unified Yugoslav market and unified basic mechanisms needed to direct the economy (monetary-credit, taxation, foreign trade, foreign exchange, and other mechanisms).

The current system of financing the federation has been extremely inefficient. This has particularly adversely affected the financing of the federation's defense functions (Yugoslav People's Army). It is impossible to ensure the federation's efficient functioning without the federation having its own appropriate sources of finances, that is to say source revenues.

Only Success Leads to Progress

The SFRY Assembly should become the highest organ of authority and self-management in the real sense of these words, in terms of both its composition and functioning and in terms of the authority of its acts and measures.

As regards its composition, it should represent in an appropriate way the entire population of Yugoslavia, all working people and citizens, considering that we have a federal system and national equality, which is to say the equality among the republics and in a way, the provinces.

The powers of the SFRY Presidency, in addition to those that are already established, should be more substantively extended so that it can perform its role as the collective head of state. Regarding the method of its election, its functioning, and accountability for its work, the SFRY Presidency should be defined in the Constitution as more of an organ of the federation.

The Federal Executive Council in all aspects should have the position, powers, and responsibilities of a government in a modern state.

The army organization has accepted and favors our stand on the reform of the LCY which we have adopted at the session of the Committee of the LCY Organization in the Yugoslav People's Army on 12 July of this year. We will be bound by this in our activities in preparing the congress.

The assessment of the international ambience and its influence on the events in our country that were presented in July of this year is coming true. What is important to stress on this occasion is that following and analyzing stormy events in the world, using the experience of others, and cooperating with all those who favor correct and mutually beneficial cooperation, we must primarily derive our solutions from our own major ideological, political, economic, national, geostrategic, and other orientations and conditions.

Everybody must understand clearly that only success leads to progress. This is why all of those who are truly fighting for a democratic, federal, and socialist Yugoslavia must, inter alia, behave extremely responsibly.

Kadijevic Conducts Routine Troop Inspections

Reviews Titograd Corps Units

LD2410194189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1457 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] Titograd, 24th Oct (TANJUG)—Within the ambit of his routine visits to the commands and units of the third military area, Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary of national defense, was in Titograd today, accompanied by his associates. Lieutenant Colonel General Zivota Avramovic, the commander of the third military area, briefed the federal secretary on the range of overall defense preparations in that area.

Major General Pavle Strugar, territorial defense commander, and Col Vladimir Boljevic, republican national defense secretary, briefed him on the readiness of the territorial defense headquarters and units, on the degree of preparedness of other defense factors, and on the implementation of military commitment tasks in the Socialist Republic of Montenegro.

In the daytime, General Kadijevic was present during the routine training of the Titograd corps units. The young soldiers and their officers demonstrated before the federal secretary and his associates appropriate tactical movements and actions and other drills and forms of professional military training.

According to General Kadijevic, they demonstrated a high level of training, endeavor, and motivation in discharging complex and hard training objectives.

The federal secretary was especially interested to hear the views of the soldiers on questions pertaining to the current political life. In this regard he had words of praise for the degree of information possessed by the men and their officers and for their political maturity in judging the complex and contradictory social developments in the country.

Immediately after inspecting the Titograd corps units, the federal secretary and his associates met in the Montenegrin Socialist Republic Presidency with Presidency President Dr Branko Kostic, Momar Bulatovic, president of the Montenegrin League of Communists Central Committee Presidium, and other leaders.

During their meeting reference was made to the state of defense preparations, as well as to current socio-political and economic problems confronting our society in general and the Montenegrin Socialist Republic in particular, which has pronounced and specific development and other difficulties.

Both sides made the assessment that the way out of the crisis lay in in-depth and comprehensive reforms and mobilization of all progressive social forces to give life to these reforms. Special emphasis was laid on the need to have comprehensive and constructive preparations for the 14th League of Communists of Yugoslavia congress and to step up the activities in the preparations to adopt the new SFRY constitution.

During the meeting attention was paid to the implementation of the program of special-purpose production in work organizations on the territory of the republic and to overall cooperation between the economy of the Montenegrin SR and the Yugoslav People's Army. Both sides noted that these meetings are very useful and important indeed especially from the point of view of further consolidation of the ties and cooperation between our armed forces and our people.

Reviews Kosovo Army Units

LD2510190289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1422 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Pristina, 25 October (TANJUG)—Continuing his tour of the units of the Third Military District, Colonel-General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary of national defense, was in the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo today. Major-general Andrija Silic, commander of the Pristina Corps, briefed the federal secretary and his associates on the attainments in the consolidation of combat readiness, the living and working conditions of the men and officers, and on the contribution made by Army members to the stabilization of the political and security situation in the province.

General Kadijevic inspected the units in Pristina and Titova Mitrovica and was present at routine training lessons at the shooting ranges and training ground when the men and officers displayed their military skills, readiness, and capability of responding successfully to their tasks.

Paying tribute to the Corps members for the exceptional efforts they are making to fulfil their complex and responsible tasks, General Kadijevic stressed that despite an exceptional shortage of material resources, every possible effort will be made to improve the living and working conditions of the units and to preserve the standard of living of the men and officers.

During the day, the federal secretary, who was accompanied by his associates, also met with Isen Kajdomcaj, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, Rahman Morina, president of the Presidium of the League of Communists Provincial Committee, and other provincial leaders.

The top three SAP Kosovo leaders evaluated the political and security situation and pointed out the efforts which were being made to stabilize the situation in the province and to more quickly establish the basic conditions to overcome the accumulated problems.

Speaking of cooperation with the Yugoslav People's Army they stressed that by virtue of its presence and the fulfilment of its tasks, the Army is acting as an essential factor of stabilization of the situation and that it represents a powerful reminder to all those who might be tempted to try to threaten the sovereignty and integrity of the country by use of force. This has created the necessary condition for the political activity of all the progressive social factors to overcome the unfavorable developments in the province.

During the meeting, reference was also made to the importance of cooperation between the Army and the Kosovo population, and it was pointed out that through joint efforts, this cooperation should develop faster and more comprehensively, and that it should be enriched with new substance. Army members will continue consistently and resolutely to fulfil their constitutional role throughout the country and in Kosovo, stressed General Kadijevic. They support all the measures leading to the establishment of interethnic confidence and vigorously oppose everyone who hinders, slows down, or prevents the process of stabilization of the overall situation in Kosovo, regardless of the form in which these actions are manifested and the identity of their protagonists.

Both sides agreed that in order to overcome the current unfavorable developments in the country, the causes of the crisis of the systemic nature must be eliminated so that conditions can be created for a comprehensive social reform, and for this reason the preparations for the adoption of the new Constitution must be speeded up.

The talks in the Presidency of the Kosovo SAP were also attended by Dr. Miroslav Djordjevic, member of the presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and Radmilo Bogdanovic [Serbian] republican secretary of internal affairs.